JORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

VOL II.

74

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY* THE CONSUL.

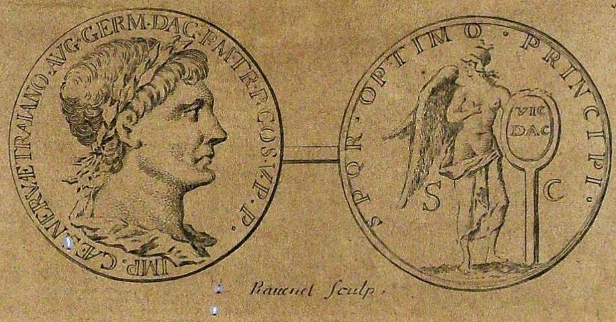
With Occasional REMARKS.

By *WILLIAM MELMOTH*, Esq;

Ille, O Plinius! Ille quot Catones!
AUGUR. ap. PLIN.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected.

VOL. II.



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THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

VOL. II.

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BOOK VII.

LETTER I. *To* Restitutus.

THIS obstinate distemper which hangs upon you, greatly alarms me; and tho' I know how extremely temperate you are, yet I am afraid your disease should get the better of your moderation. Let me intreat you then to resist it with a determined abstemiousness: a remedy, be assured, of all others the most noble, as well as the most salutary. There is nothing impracticable in what I recommend: it is a rule, at least, which I always

direct my family to obferve with refpect to myfelf. I hope, I tell them, that fhould I be attacked with any diforder, I fhall defire nothing of which I either ought to be afhamed, or have reafon to repent; however, if my diftemper fhould prevail over my refolution, I forbid that any thing be given me but by the confent of my phyficians; and I affure the people about me, that I fhall refent their compliance with me in things improper, as much as another man would their refufal. I had once a moft violent fever; when the fit was a little abated, and I had been anointed[a], my phyfician offered me fomething to drink; I defired he would firft feel my pulfe, and upon his feeming to think the fit was not quite off, I inftantly returned the cup, tho' it was juft at my lips. Afterwards, when I was preparing to go into the bath, twenty days from the firft attack of my illnefs, perceiving the phyficians whifpering together, I enquired what they were faying. They replied, they were of opinion I might poffibly bathe with fafety, however that they were not without fome fufpicion of hazard. What occafion is there,

[a] Unction was much efteemed and prefcribed by the antients. Celfus, who florifhed, it is fuppofed, about this time, exprefly recommends it in the remiffion of acute diftempers: *ungi leniterque pertractari corpus, etiam in acutis et recentibus morbis oportet; in remiffione tamen, &c.* Celfi med. ed. Almeloveen, p. 88.

there, ſaid I, of doing it at all? And thus, with great complacency, I gave up a pleaſure I was upon the point of enjoying, and abſtained from the bath with the ſame compoſure I was going to enter it. I mention this, not only in order to enforce my advice by example; but alſo that this letter may be a ſort of tie upon me to perſevere in the ſame reſolute abſtinence for the future. Farewel.

LETTER II. To JUSTUS.

ARE you not inconſiſtent with yourſelf, when you aſſure me you have no intermiſſion from buſineſs, and yet at the ſame time expreſs an earneſt deſire to ſee my works; upon which even the idle will ſcarce beſtow ſome of their uſeleſs hours? I will not then break in upon your affairs during this ſummer ſeaſon; but when the return of winter ſhall make it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that your evenings, at leaſt, may be diſengaged, I will look over my trifles for ſomething to amuſe your vacant hours. In the mean while, I ſhall be well ſatisfied, if my letters are not troubleſome; as I ſuſpect they are, and therefore ſhorten them. Farewel.

LETTER III. *To* Præsens.

ARE you determined then to paſs your whole time between [a] Lucania and [b] Campania? Your anſwer, I ſuppoſe, will be, that the former is your native country, and the latter that of your wife. This, I admit, may juſtify a long abſence, but I cannot allow it as a reaſon for a perpetual one. But are you reſolved in good earneſt never to return to Rome, that theatre of dignities, preferment, and ſociety of every ſort? Are you obſtinately bent to live your own maſter, and ſleep and riſe when you think proper? Will you never change your country dreſs for the habit of the town, but ſpend your whole days unembarraſſed by buſineſs? It is time however, you ſhould reviſit our ſcene of hurry, were it only that your rural pleaſures may not grow languid by enjoyment: appear at the levees of the great, that you may enjoy the ſame honor yourſelf with more ſatisfaction; and mix in our crowd, that you may have a ſtronger reliſh for the charms of ſolitude. But am I not imprudently retarding the friend I would recall? it is theſe very circumſtances, perhaps, that induce you

[a] Comprehending the Baſilicata, a province in the kingdom of Naples.

[b] Now called Campagna di Roma. See B. vi. let. 4. not. [b].

you every day more and more to wrap yourself up in retirement. All however I mean to persuade you to, is only to intermit, not renounce your repose. If I were to invite you to a feast, as I would blend dishes of a sharper taste, with those of a more luscious kind, in order to raise the edge of your palate by the one, which had been flattened by the other; so I now advise you to enliven the smooth pleasures of life, with those of a quicker relish. Farewel.

LETTER IV. To PONTIUS.

YOU have read, it seems my poems, and are desirous to know, how it happened that a man of my gravity (as you are pleased to call me, tho' in truth only not a trifler) could fall into this way of composition. To take the account then a good way backwards, I must acquaint you, that I had always an inclination to poetry, insomuch that when I was fourteen years of age, I composed a Tragedy in Greek. If you should ask me what sort of one? I protest I don't know; all that I remember of it is, that it was called a Tragedy. Some time afterwards, in my return from the army, being detained in the island of [a] Icaria by contrary winds, I vented my spleen against that place in

[a] An island in the Archipelago, now called Nicaria.

ſome Latin Elegies. I have ſince made ſome attempts in the heroic kind; but theſe are the firſt [a] *Hendecaſyllables* I ever compoſed; to which the following accident gave birth. The treatiſe of Aſinius Gallus was read to me one day at Laurentinum, wherein he draws a compariſon between his father and Cicero; and there I met with an epigram of Tully's on his favorite Tiro. Upon retiring to take my afternoon's nap (for it was ſummer time) and not being able to ſleep, I began to reflect that the greateſt orators have been fond of poetry, and valued themſelves upon it. I tried therefore what I could do in this way; and tho' I had long diſuſed myſelf to things of this nature, I ſtruck out, in a much ſhorter time than I could have imagined, the following lines upon the ſubject which gave me the firſt hint:

When Gallus I read, who pretends that his ſire
Had far more than Tully poetical fire,
The wiſeſt of men, I perceiv'd held it fit
To temper his wiſdom with love and with wit;
For Tully, grave Tully, in amorous ſtrains,
Of the frauds of his paramour Tiro complains;
That faithleſs to love, and to pleaſure untrue,
From his promis'd embrace the arch wanton withdrew.

Then

[a] See p. 217. note[a].

Then said I to my heart, Why shouldst thou conceal
The sweetest of passions, the love which you feel—
Yes, fly wanton muse, and proclaim it around,
Thy Pliny has lov'd, and his Tiro has found;
The coy one so artful, who sweetly denies,
And from the soft flame, but to heighten it, flies.

From this I turned to Elegy, which I performed with the same ease; and being thus drawn in by the facility with which the Muses yielded to me, I proceeded to add to the number of my productions of this kind. At my return to Rome I shewed my performances to some of my friends, who were pleased to approve of them. Afterwards whenever I had leisure, and particularly when I travelled, I made several other attempts in the poetical way. At length I determined, after the example of many others, to publish a separate volume of these poems; and I have no reason to repent of my resolution. They are much enquired after, and are in every body's hands, as they have even tempted the Greeks to learn our language, who sing them to their harps and lyres. But will you not imagine I begin to rave? remember, however, poets have that privilege. The truth is, I am not giving you my own judgment, but that of others, which, be it right or wrong, I am much pleased with; and have only to wish that posterity may pass the same. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER V. *To* CALPHURNIA[*].

IT is incredible how impatiently I wish for your return; such is the tenderness of my affection for you, and so unaccustomed am I to a separation! I lie awake the greatest part of the night in thinking of you, and (to use a very common, but very true expression) my feet carry me of their own accord to your apartment, at those hours I used to visit you; but not finding you there, I return with as much sorrow and disappointment as an excluded lover. The only intermission my anxiety knows, is when I am engaged at the bar, and in the causes of my friends. Judge how wretched must *his* life be, who finds no repose but in business; no consolation but in a crowd. Farewel.

LETTER VI. *To* MACRINUS.

A Very singular and remarkable accident has happened in the affair of [a] Varenus, the consequence of which is yet in suspence. The Bithynians, it is said, have drop'd their prosecution of him; being convinced at last, that it was extremely ill founded. A deputy from that province

[*] His wife. [a] See B. v. let. xx.

vince is arrived, who has brought with him a decree of their assembly; copies of which he has delivered to Cæsar, to several of the principal persons in Rome, and to us the advocates for Varenus. [b]Magius, however, whom I mentioned in my last letter to you, persists in his prosecution, and, for that purpose, is incessantly teazing the worthy Nigrinus. This excellent person was counsel for him in his former petition to the consuls, that Varenus might be compelled to produce his accounts. Upon this occasion, as I attended Varenus merely as a friend, I determined to be silent. I thought it highly imprudent for me, who was appointed his counsel by the senate, to attempt to defend him as a person accused, when it was his business to insist that there was actually no charge subsisting against him. However, when Nigrinus had finished his speech, the consuls turning their eyes upon me, I rose up, and, *when they should hear*, I said, *what the real deputies from the province had to object against the motion of Nigrinus, they would be sensible that my silence was not without just reason.* Upon this Nigrinus asked me to whom these deputies were sent? I replied, *That the decree of the province was directed to me among others.* He returned, *That is a point, tho' it may be clear to you, I am not so well*

[b] One of the Bithynians employed to manage the trial.

well ſatisfied of. To this I anſwered, *tho' it may not be ſo evident to you, who are concerned to ſupport the accuſation, it may be extremely clear to me, who am on the more favorable ſide.* Then Polyænus, thedeputy from the province, acquainted the ſenate with the reaſons for ſuperſeding the proſecution, but deſired it might be without prejudice to Cæſar's determination. Magius anſwered him; Polyænus replied; as for myſelf, I only now and then threw in a word, obſerving in general a profound ſilence. For I have learned, that upon ſome occaſions there is as much rhetoric in taciturnity, as in all the pomp of the moſt ſtudied eloquence: and I remember, in ſome criminal caſes, to have done even more ſervice to my clients by a judicious ſilence, than I could have expected from the moſt artful ſpeech. To enter into the ſubject of eloquence, is indeed very foreign to the intent of my letter, yet allow me to give you one inſtance in proof of the obſervation I juſt mentioned. A certain lady having loſt her ſon, ſuſpected that his freedmen, whom he had appointed coheirs with her, were guilty of forging the will and poiſoning him. Accordingly ſhe charged them with the fact before the emperor, who directed Julianus Servianus to try the cauſe. I was counſel for the defendants, and the caſe being

ing exceedingly remarkable, and the advocates concerned on both ſides of high reputation, it drew together a very numerous audience. The event was, the ſervants being put to the torture, my clients were acquitted. But the mother applied a ſecond time to the emperor, pretending ſhe had diſcovered ſome new evidence. Servianus was therefore directed to rehear the cauſe, and ſee if ſhe could produce any freſh proofs. Julius Africanus was counſel for the mother, a young man of good parts, but little experience. He is grandſon to the famous orator of that name, of whom it is reported that Paſſienus Cripſus hearing him one day plead, archly ſaid, *All this, I own, is extremely fine; but what is it to the purpoſe?* Julius Africanus, I ſay, having harangued a great deal, and exhauſted the portion of time allotted to him, intreated Servianus to allow him to add one word more. When he had finiſhed, and the eyes of the whole aſſembly had been fixed a conſiderable time upon me, I roſe up; *I would have anſwered Africanus,* ſaid I, *if he had added that* one word *he beg'd leave to do, in which I doubt not he would have told us ſomething we had not hear'd before.* I do not remember to have gained ſo much applauſe by any ſpeech that I ever made, as I did here upon making none. Thus the little that I

ſaid

said for Varenus, was receceived with the same general approbation. The consuls, agreeably to the request of Polyænus, reserved the whole affair for the determination of the emperor, whose resolution I impatiently wait for; as that will decide, whether I may sit down in full security with respect to Varenus; or must again renew all my care and solicitude upon his account. Farewel.

LETTER VII. To SATURNINUS.

THO' I had very lately made my acknowledgments to our friend Priscus, yet, since it was your desire, I willingly repeated them again. It is with great pleasure I see so much harmony subsist between two such worthy men, whom I tenderly esteem, and that you consider each other's friendship as the highest obligation. For he professes also on his part to receive much happiness from yours, and, with a very generous contention, endeavors to rival you in that reciprocal affection, which time, I am persuaded, will augment.

I regret that any business should call you off from your studies; however, when you shall have compromised (as you say you are upon the point of doing) one cause, and brought the other to a hearing, you will be at leisure to enjoy the retirement

of the country; and when you are ſatiated with that, we may hope for your return hither. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. *To* Priscus.

THE frequent letters which I receive from Saturinus upon the ſubject of your favors to him, afford me inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. May you go on as you began, and continue to cheriſh an affection for ſo worthy a man, from whoſe friendſhip you will receive a ſtrong and laſting pleaſure. For as he is greatly diſtinguiſhed by every other virtue, ſo particularly, by his invariable attachment to his friends. Farewel.

LETTER IX. *To* Tuscus.

YOU deſire my ſentiments concerning the method of ſtudy you ſhould purſue, in that retirement to which you have long ſince withdrawn. In the firſt place then, I look upon it as a very advantageous practice (and it is what many recommend) to tranſlate either from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek. By this means you will furniſh yourſelf with noble and proper expreſſions, with variety of beautiful figures, and an eaſe and ſtrength

ſtength of ſtile. Beſides, by imitating the moſt approved authors, you will find your imagination heated, and fall inſenſibly into a ſimular turn of thought; at the ſame time that thoſe things which you may poſſibly have overlooked in a common way of reading, cannot eſcape you in tranſlating: and this method will open your underſtanding, and improve your judgment. It may not be amiſs after you have read an author, in order to make yourſelf maſter of his ſubject and argument, from his reader to turn, as it were, his rival, and attempt ſomething of your own in the ſame way; and then make an impartial compariſon between your performance and his, in order to ſee in what points either you or he moſt happily ſucceeded. It will be a matter of very pleaſing congratulation to yourſelf, if you ſhall find in ſome things, that you have the advantage of him, as it will be a great mortification if he ſhould riſe above you in all. You may ſometimes venture in theſe little eſſays, to try your ſtrength upon the moſt ſhining paſſages of a diſtinguiſhed author. The attempt, indeed, will be ſomething bold, but as it is a contention which paſſes in ſecret, it cannot be taxed with preſumption. Not but that we have ſeen inſtances of perſons, who have publicly entered this ſort of liſts with great ſucceſs, and while they

did

did not despair of overtaking, have gloriously advanced before those whom they thought it sufficient honor to follow. After you have thus finished a composition, you may lay it aside, 'till it is no longer fresh in your memory, and then take it up, in order to revise and correct it. You will find several things to retain, but still more to reject; you will add a new thought here, and alter another there. It is a laborious and tedious task, I own, thus to re-enflame the mind after the first heat is over, to recover an impulse when its force has been checked and spent, in a word, to interweave new parts into the texture of a composition, without disturbing or confounding the original plan; but the advantage attending this method will overballance the difficulty. I know the bent of your present attention is directed towards the eloquence of the bar; but I would not for that reason advise you never to quit the stile of dispute and contention. As land is improved by sowing it with various seeds, so is the mind by exercising it with different studies. I would recommend it to you therefore, sometimes to single out a fine passage of history; sometimes to exercise yourself in the epistolary stile, and sometimes the poetical. For it frequently happens, that in pleading one has occasion to make use not only of historical, but even

poetical deſcriptions; as by the epiſtolary manner of writing you will acquire a cloſe and eaſy expreſſion. It will be extremely proper alſo to unbend your mind with poetry: when I ſay ſo, I do not mean that ſpecies of it which turns upon ſubjects of great length, (for that is fit only for perſons of much leiſure) but thoſe little pieces of the epigrammatic kind, which ſerve as proper reliefs to, and are conſiſtent with employments of every ſort. They commonly go under the title of *poetical amuſements*; but theſe amuſements have ſometimes gained as much reputation to their authors, as works of a more ſerious nature: and thus (for while I am exhorting you to poetry, why ſhould I not be poetical myſelf?)

As yielding wax the Artiſt's ſkill commands,
Submiſſive ſhap'd beneath his forming hands;
Now dreadful ſtands in arms a Mars confeſt;
Or now with Venus' ſofter air impreſt;
A wanton Cupid now the mold belies;
Now ſhines, ſeverely chaſte, a Pallas wiſe:
As not alone to quench the raging flame,
The ſacred fountain pours her friendly ſtream,
But ſweetly gliding thro' the flow'ry green,
Spreads glad refreſhment o'er the ſmiling ſcene:
So, form'd by ſcience, ſhould the ductile mind
Receive, diſtinct, each various art refin'd.

In

In this manner the greatest men, as well as the greatest orators, used either to exercise or amuse themselves, or rather indeed did both. It is surprising how much the mind is entertained and enlivened by these little poetical compositions, as they turn upon subjects of gallantry, satire, tenderness, politeness, and every thing, in short, that concerns life and the affairs of the world. Besides, the same advantage attends these, as every other sort of poems, that we turn from them to prose with so much the more pleasure, after having experienced the difficulty of being constrained and fettered by numbers. And now, perhaps, I have troubled you upon this subject longer than you desired; however, there is one thing which I have omitted: I have not told you what kind of authors you should read; tho' indeed that was sufficiently implied when I mentioned what subjects I would recommend for your compositions. You will remember, that the most approved writers of each sort are to be carefully chosen; for, as it has been well observed, "though we should read much, we should "not read many [a] books." Who those authors are,

[a] Thus the noble and polite moralist, speaking of the influence which our reading has upon our *taste* and *manners*, thinks it improper "to call a man *well-read*, who reads many authors; "since

are, is so clearly settled, and so generally known, that I need not point them out to you; besides, I have already extended this letter to such an immoderate length, that I have interrupted, I fear, too long those studies I have been recommending. I will here resign you therefore to your papers, which you will now resume; and either pursue the studies you were before engaged in, or enter upon some of those which I have advised. Farewel.

" since he must of necessity have more ill models than good: " and be more stuffed with bombast, ill fancy, and wry " thought, than filled with solid sense and just imagination." [Charact. v. 1. 142.] When the Goths over-ran Greece, the libraries escaped their destruction, by a notion which some of their leaders industriously propagated among them, that it would be more for their interest to leave these spoils untouched to their enemies; as being proper to enervate their minds, and amuse them with vain and idle speculations. Truth perhaps has been less a gainer by this multiplicity of books, than error; and it may be a question, whether the excellent models which have been delivered down to us from antiquity, together with those few which modern times have produced, by any means ballance the immoderate weight which must be thrown into the opposite scale of writers. The truth is, tho' we may be learned by other men's reflections, wise we can only be by our own: and the maxim here recommended by Pliny, would well deserve the attention of the studious, though no other inconvenience attended the reading of many books, than that which Sir William Temple apprehends from it; the lessening the force and growth of a man's own genius. For it may be justly doubted, with that ingenious author, " whether " the weight and number of so many other men's thoughts " and notions, may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion " or agitation of them, from which all invention arises; as " heaping on wood, or too many sticks, or too close together, " suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes a little spark, " that would otherwise have grown up to a noble flame." [Essay on learning, v. 1. [illegible].]

LET-

LETTER X. To MACRINUS.

AS I always love to know the end of a ſtory when I have heared the beginning; ſo, I imagine, you will be glad to be informed of the event of the cauſe between the Bithynians and Varenus. It was pleaded before the emperor by Polyænus on one ſide, and Magius on the other. When Cæſar had heared both, *Neither party*, ſaid he, *ſhall have reaſon to complain of the delay; but I will take care to inform myſelf of the real ſentiments of the province.* In the mean while, Varenus has gained a very conſiderable point; for can any thing make the juſtneſs of his accuſation appear more doubtful, than that it is a queſtion whether he is accuſed at all? We have only to wiſh, that the province may not again approve of what, it is ſaid, ſhe has condemned, and repent of her repentance. Farewel.

LETTER XI. *To* FABATUS[a].

YOU are ſurprized, I find, that my ſhare of five twelfths of the eſtate which lately fell to me, and which I had directed to be ſold to the beſt bidder, ſhould have been diſpoſed of by my freed-man Hermes to Corellia (without putting it up to auction) at the rate of ſeven hundred thouſand[b] ſeſterces for the whole. And as you think it might have produced nine hundred thouſand[c], you are ſo much the more deſirous to know, whether I am inclined to ratify what he has done. I am; and for ſuch reaſons, I hope, as not only you will approve, but will alſo excuſe me to my fellow-coheirs for having, upon a motive of ſtronger influence, ſeparated my intereſt from theirs. I have the higheſt eſteem for Corellia, both as the ſiſter of Rufus, whoſe memory will ever be ſacred to me, and as ſhe was an intimate friend of my mother's. Beſides, that excellent man Minutius Fuſcus her huſband, has every claim to my affection that a long friendſhip can give him; as there was likewiſe ſo ſtrict an intimacy between her ſon and me, that I fixed

[a] His wife's grandfather.
[b] About 5600 l. of our money.
[c] About 7200 l. of our money.

fixed upon him to preside at the games which I exhibited when I was elected Prætor. This lady, when I was last in the country, expressed a strong inclination to purchase something upon our lake of Comum; I therefore made her an offer, at her own price, of any part of my estate there, except what came to me from my father and mother; for that I could not consent to part with, even to Corellia. When the inheritance in question fell to me, I wrote to acquaint her it was to be sold. This letter I sent by Hermes, who upon her requesting him that he would immediately let her have my proportion of it, consented to do so. Am I not then obliged to confirm what he has thus done in pursuance of my inclinations? I have only to entreat my fellow-coheirs, that they would not take it ill at my hands, that I have made a separate sale of what I had certainly a right to dispose of. They are under no necessity of being governed by my example, since they have not the same connections with Corellia that I have. They are at full liberty therefore to be guided by interest, which in my own case I chose to sacrifice to Friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XII. To MINUTIUS.

I Have been so much the longer in sending you the petition which I have drawn up for the use of your, or rather I should say *our* friend, (for what is there that we do not possess in common?) that you might have no time to correct, that is, to spoil it. After all, whether you will or will not find time for that purpose, I know not; but of this I am sure, you will most certainly spoil it, if according to the custom of you people of a vitiated taste, you should throw out its most shining parts. I shall forgive you, however, if you should, and shall upon some future occasion, very successfully make use of what your false delicacy rejects; as I doubt not to receive your applause for those different expressions which I have interlined. I suspected you would call every thing unnatural and bombast which is elevated and sounding; I thought proper therefore for your ease, to vary the phrase, and take it something lower, or rather indeed, to debase it; tho' you, I know (for why should I not rally your sickly taste?) will esteem it an improvement. Thus far in order to make you smile in the midst of your serious occupations I have been jocose; but without doubt, I am wond'rous serious in what I am going

going to add: I expect to be reimbursed the charges I have been at in sending a messenger express with this. Now are you not disposed to condemn this petition, not only in part, but in the whole, and insist upon it, that you ought not to pay for a thing which is absolutely of no value? Farewel.

LETTER XIII. *To* FEROX.

I Learn from your letter, that you do, and do not study. This will appear a little enigmatical 'till I explain it: you expressly say indeed, that you have bid adieu to contemplation; but such an air of elegance runs thro' your whole letter, that it is impossible it should have been composed without much thought: unless you are privileged beyond the rest of mankind, and can write with so much politeness, thus carelessly and at your ease. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* CORELLIA.

YOU are extremely generous to desire and insist, that I take for my share of the estate you purchased of me, not after the rate of seven hundred thousand sesterces [a] for the whole, as my freed-

[a] See letter the 11th of this book.

freed-man sold it to you; but in the proportion of nine hundred thousand, agreeable to what you gave to the farmers of the [b] twentieths for their part. But I must desire and insist in my turn, that you would consider not only what is suitable to your character, but what is worthy of mine; and that you would suffer me to oppose your inclination in this single instance, with the same warmth that I obey it in all others. Farewel.

LETTER XV. *To* SATURNINUS.

YOU ask me *how I spend my time?* You know how much of it is dispofed in the bufinefs of my poft; what remains I devote to the fervice of my friends, and fometimes to my books; an employment which, tho' I will not venture to affirm it would be better, I am fure it would be happier, if I could fay not only *fometimes*, but altogether engages me. I fhould be concerned to hear, that yours are of the fort which are leaft agreeable to you, if I did not know you

[b] Auguftus impofed a tax of the 20th part of all legacies and inheritances, which he appropriated to the fupport of the army. This was deemed a heavy impofition, and accordingly it was eafed in feveral points by fucceeding emperors, particularly by Trajan, as appears from our author's noble Panegyric upon him [fect. 37. &c.] but it was not wholly abolifhed till the time of Antoninus Pius.

you are busied in the noblest offices; as nothing can be more worthy of applause, than to be active in the interest of one's country, and one's friends.

I was well persuaded the company of our friend Priscus would be extremely agreeable to you, as I know the simplicity, innocence and politeness of his manners: but I had yet to learn (what I had the pleasure to be informed of by your letter) that he so obligingly remembers the services I have done him. Farewel.

LETTER XVI. *To* FABATUS.

CALestrius Tiro, to whom I am united by every public and private connection, is in the number of my most intimate friends. We served together in the army, as we were both of us [a] Quæstors at the same time to Cæsar. He got the start of me indeed, in the Tribunate, by the privilege which the law gives to those who have [b] children; but

[a] An office resembling that of our secretary of state.

[b] A law at first proposed by Augustus, but which afterwards with several alterations passed in the consulship of Papius and Poppeas, A. U. 762; in which amongst other things it was enacted, "That all magistrates should take precedence according "to the number of their children; that in elections those can-"didates should be preferred who had the most numerous off-"spring; and that any person might stand sooner than ordi-"nary for an office, if he had as many children as he wanted "years to be capable of bearing such a dignity." Vid. Lipsii Excurs. ad Tacit. An. 1. 3.

but I overtook him in the Prætorship by the indulgence of the emperor, who dispensed with my wanting a year of the legal age for that office. I frequently retire with him to his country villas, as he often takes the benefit of the air at mine. He is now appointed proconsul of Bœtica, and he proposes to pass thro' [c] Ticinum in his way to that province. I hope, and indeed I am well assured, I can easily prevail with him to turn out of his road to your house, if you should have an inclination to make any of those slaves free before a magistrate, to whom you have already given their liberty [d] in the presence of your friends. You need be under no apprehension that he will look upon this as a trouble, who, I am sure, would willingly travel round the world for my sake. I beg therefore you would lay aside all scruple, and only consider what will be most agreeable to yourself; for be assured, he will take as much pleasure in executing my commands, as I do in obeying yours. Farewel.

[c] Pavia in the dutchy of Milan.

[d] This last method only discharged them from servitude, but did not entitle them to the privileges of complete freedom.

LET-

LETTER XVII. *To* Celer.

EVery author has his particular reaſons for reciting his works; mine, I have often ſaid, is in order if any thing ſhould eſcape me, (as no doubt it may) to be better informed. I cannot therefore but be ſurprized to find (what your letter aſſures me,) that there are ſome who blame me for reciting my ſpeeches: unleſs, perhaps, they are of opinion, that this is the ſingle ſpecies of compoſition that ought to be privileged from any correction. If ſo, I would willingly aſk them why they allow (if indeed they do allow) that Hiſtory may be recited, ſince it is a work which ought to be devoted to truth, not oſtentation? or why Tragedy, when it is adapted to action and the ſtage, not to a private audience? or Lyric Poetry, as it is not a reader that it requires, but a chorus of voices and inſtruments? But, poſſibly, they will reply, that in the inſtances mentioned, cuſtom has made it uſual: I ſhould be glad to know then, if they think the perſon who firſt introduced this cuſtom is to be condemned? Beſides, the rehearſal of orations is no unprecedented thing either with us or the Grecians. Still, perhaps, they will inſiſt, that it can anſwer no purpoſe to recite a ſpeech which has actually been ſpoken. There would be ſome truth in this

objection, if one were immediately to repeat the very same performance, and to the very same audience; but if you make several additions and alterations; if your audience is composed partly of the same, and partly of different persons, and the recital is at some distance of time, why is it less allowable to rehearse your speech than to publish it? As to the difficulty they may suppose there would be, in giving satisfaction to an audience by the mere recital of a speech, *that* is a reason which concerns the particular skill and pains of the person who rehearses, but by no means holds against reciting in general. The truth is, it is not whilst I am reading, but when I am read, that I aim at approbation; and for that reason I omit no sort of method that can render my performances more correct. In the first place, I frequently revise my compositions in private, afterwards I read them to two or three friends, and then give them to others to make their remarks. If after this I have any doubt concerning the justness of their observations, I carefully weigh them again with a friend or two; and, last of all, I recite them to a more numerous assembly. This is the time, believe me, when I find myself best able to exercise all the severity of the most rigid criticism; for my attention rises in proportion to

my

my solicitude; as nothing so much awakens the judgment as that reverence, and modest timidity, which one feels upon those occasions. For do but reflect and tell me, whether you would not be infinitely less affected if you were to speak before a single person only, tho' ever so learned, than before a numerous assembly, even tho' it were composed of none but illiterate people? When you rise up to plead, are you not at that juncture, above all others, most diffident of yourself? and do you not wish, I will not say some particular parts only, but that the whole frame of your intended speech was altered? especially if the circle is large in which you are to speak; for at such a season there is something even in the most vulgar audience that strikes one with awe. And if you suspect you are not well received at the first opening of your speech, do you not find all the energy of your powers weakened, and the whole strength of your resolution sink under you? The reason I imagine to be, that there is I know not what dignity in the collective sentiments of a multitude, and tho' separately their judgment is, perhaps, of little weight, yet when united it becomes considerable. Agreeably to this notion, Pomponius Secundus, the famous tragic poet, whenever his friend and he differed about the retaining or rejecting any thing in

his

his writings, used to say, *I appeal*[a] *to the people*; and accordingly by their silence or applause, adopted either his own or his friend's sentiments: such was the regard he paid to the populace! [b] Whether with justice or not, it does not concern me to determine, as I never recite my works publicly, but only before a select number of friends, whose presence I respect, and whose judgment I value; in

[a] There is a kind of witticism in this expression, which will be lost to the mere English reader, unless he be informed, that the Romans had a privilege confirmed to them by several laws which passed in the earlier ages of the republic, of appealing from the decisions of the magistrates, to the general assembly of the people: and they did so in the form of words which Pomponius here applies to a different purpose.

[b] However unsafe in general, an appeal to the vulgar notions may be, there are yet some cases in which their sentiments have ever been received by the judicious as decisive. The merit of performances in the persuasive, or imitative arts, so far as the mere raising or representing the passions are concerned, will best be tried by the effect they produce in plain and unbiassed minds: for (as Tully observes) "that artist who has "nature for his object, must certainly fall short of the truth of "his art, where nature is not moved*." The custom which prevailed among the Romans of reciting their works of genius in the porticos, and places of public resort, took its rise, probably, from the same notion of a general and innate taste being implanted in all mankind of what is just and natural in the moving arts. It was upon this principle likewise, that the great masters in painting and statuary in ancient Greece, exhibited their performances to public view, and corrected them by the popular feelings. There is a remarkable story told of Annibal Carrache, which shews he received the same standard of merit. He took notice that a famous picture of Dominichin's, representing the flagellation of St. Andrew, made a very strong impression upon an old woman, who at the same time

* De orat. lib. 1.

in a word, whoſe opinions I obſerve as if they were ſo many individuals I had ſeparately conſulted, at the ſame time that I ſtand in as much fear of them as I ſhould of the moſt numerous aſſembly. What Cicero ſays of compoſing, will, in my opinion, hold true of that awe we have of the public: "It "is the moſt rigid critic imaginable." The very thoughts of reciting, the notion of entering an aſſembly, and the reverential concern when one is there; each of theſe circumſtances tend to improve and perfect an author's performance. Upon the whole therefore, I cannot repent of a cuſtom which I have experienced to be ſo exceedingly beneficial; and am ſo far from being diſcouraged by the trifling objections of theſe cenſors, that I beg you would point out to me if there is yet any other method of correction, that I may add to this; for nothing can ſufficiently ſatisfy my care to render my compoſitions finiſhed. I reflect what an arduous undertaking it is to reſign any work into the hands

time ſeem'd little affected with another picture of a martyrdom done by Guido, which was placed near it. A debate afterwards happening about the merit of theſe two performances, Carrache decided the diſpute by only telling this fact. Thus, as the poet obſerves,

——— *The people's voice is odd,*
It is, and it is not, the voice of God.

Pope.

of the public; and I cannot but be persuaded, that frequent revisals, and many consultations must go to the finishing of a performance, which one desires the world should universally, and for ever admire.

LETTER XVIII. *To* CANINIUS.

YOU ask my advice in what manner you shall settle the sum of money, which you have presented to our country-men for an annual festival, so as to secure the just application of it after your death. Your question proceeds from a truly generous principle, but the answer to it is not very easy. Should you pay down the money to the community; there is great danger that it will be squandered away. Should you settle lands for that purpose; they will probably be neglected, as those of the public usually are. Upon the whole then, I can think of no method more eligible than what I pursued myself in a parallel instance. Intending to give * five hundred thousand sesterces for the maintenance of children who were born of good families, I made a fictitious sale to the public agent of an estate in land which was worth considerably more, who reconveyed it back to me, charged

* About 4000 l. of our money.

charged with a yearly rent of [b] 30,000 sesterces. By this means the principal was secured to the community, at the same time the interest was certain, and the estate itself (as it was of much greater value than the rent charged upon it) was always sure of finding a tenant. I am well apprised, indeed, that by this method I have actually given more than I appear to have done, as the value of the whole estate will be a good deal lessened by the encumbrance with which it is charged. But the interest of the public ought always to take place of every private consideration, as what is eternal is to be preferred to what is mortal; and a man of true generosity will study how to render his benefaction most advantageous, rather than how he may bestow it with least expence. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. *To* PRISCUS.

I AM deeply afflicted at the ill state of health of my friend Fannia, which she contracted during her attendance on Junia, one of the Vestal virgins.

[b] About 240l. of our money. It should seem by this passage, that the rate of interest of money upon mortgage among the Romans in Pliny's time, or rather at the time when he wrote this letter (for no doubt it varied with public circumstances) was at 6 *per Cent*, as in the common way of loan, upon personal security, it appears from the sixty second letter of the tenth book, to have been so high as 12 *per Cent*.

She engaged in this good office at first voluntarily, Junia being her relation; as she was afterwards appointed to it by an order from the college of Priests: for these virgins, when any indisposition makes it necessary to remove them from the temple of Vesta, are always delivered to the care and custody of some venerable matron. It was her assiduity in the execution of this charge that occasioned her present disorder, which is a continual fever, attended with a cough that increases daily. She is extremely emaciated, and seems in a total decay of every thing but spirits; those indeed she preserves in their full vigor; and in a manner worthy the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thrasea. In all the rest she is so greatly impaired, that I am more than apprehensive upon her account; I am deeply afflicted. I grieve, my friend, that so excellent a woman is going to be removed from the eyes of the world, which will never, perhaps, again behold her equal. How consummate is her virtue, her piety, her wisdom, her courage! She twice followed her husband into exile, and once was banished herself upon his account. For Senecio, when he was tried for writing the life of Helvidius, having said in his defence that he composed that work at the request of Fannia; Metius Carus, with a stern and threatening air, asked her whe-

ther

ther it was true? She acknowledged it was: and when he farther queſtioned her, whether ſhe ſupplied him likewiſe with materials for that purpoſe, and whether her mother was privy to this tranſaction? ſhe boldly confeſſed the former, but abſolutely denied the latter. In ſhort, throughout her whole examination not a word eſcaped her that betrayed the leaſt emotion of fear. On the contrary, ſhe had the courage to preſerve a copy of thoſe very books which the ſenate, over-awed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be ſuppreſſed, and at the ſame time the effects of the author to be confiſcated; and took with her as the companions of her exile, what had been the cauſe of it. How pleaſing is her converſation, how polite her addreſs, and (which ſeldom unites in the ſame character) how venerable is ſhe as well as amiable! She will hereafter, I am well perſuaded, be pointed out as a model to all wives; and perhaps be eſteemed worthy to be ſet forth as an example of fortitude even to our ſex; ſince, while yet we have the pleaſure of ſeeing and converſing with her, we contemplate her with the ſame admiration, as thoſe heroines who are celebrated in ancient ſtory. For myſelf I confeſs, I cannot but tremble for this illuſtrious houſe, which ſeems ſhaken to its very

foundations, and ready to fall into ruins with her: for tho' ſhe will leave deſcendants behind her, yet what a height of virtue muſt they retain, what glorious actions muſt they perform, ere the world will be perſuaded that this excellent woman was not the laſt of her family! It is an aggravating circumſtance of affliction to me, that by her death I ſeem to loſe a ſecond time her mother; that worthy mother (and what can I ſay higher in her praiſe) of ſo amiable a perſon! who, as ſhe was reſtored to me in her daughter, ſo ſhe will now again be taken from me, and the loſs of Fannia will thus pierce my heart at once with a freſh ſtab, and at the ſame time tear open a former wound. I loved and honored them both ſo highly, that I knew not which had the greateſt ſhare of my eſteem and affection; a point they deſired might ever remain undetermined. In their proſperity and their adverſity I did them every good office in my power, and was their comforter in exile, as well as their avenger at their return. But I have not yet paid them what I owe, and am ſo much the more ſolicitous for the recovery of this lady, that I may have time to acquit what is due from me to her. Such is the anxiety under which I write this letter! But if ſome friendly power ſhould happily give me occaſion to exchange it for ſentiments of

joy,

joy, I ſhall not complain of the alarms I now ſuffer. Farewel.

LETTER XX. To TACITUS.

I Have peruſed your book with all the attention I was maſter of, and have marked the paſſages I think ſhould be altered, and thoſe which I am of opinion ought intirely to be thrown out. It is as habitual to me to ſpeak truth, as it is agreeable to you to hear it, and indeed none are more patient of cenſure, than thoſe who have the beſt claim to applauſe. I now expect in return, your obſervations upon the treatiſe of mine which I ſent you. How agreeable, how noble is ſuch a commerce! and how am I pleaſed with the thought, that poſterity, if it ſhall at all concern itſelf with us, will not ceaſe to mention with what harmony, what freedom, what fidelity we lived together! It will be an inſtance as remarkable, as it is uncommon, that two perſons nearly of the ſame age and rank, and of ſome character in the republic of letters (for ſince I join myſelf with you, I am obliged to ſpeak of your merit with reſerve) ſhould thus mutually aſſiſt and promote each other's ſtudies. When I was a very young man, and you in the prime of your glory and reputation, I endeavored to follow your

ſteps, and was deſirous to be conſidered as next in character to you,

[a] *But next with many a length between!*

And tho' there were, at that time, many celebrated geniuſes in Rome, yet you, of all others, appeared to me, not only moſt worthy to be my model, but from a ſimilitude of our diſpoſitions, moſt eaſy to my imitation. It is particularly agreeable to me therefore to find, that in all companies where learning is the topic of converſation, we are always mentioned together, and that my name immediately follows yours. It is true, there are ſome who prefer you to me, as others, on the contrary, give me the advantage; but I am little ſolicitous in what order we are placed, ſo that we ſtand united; for in my eſtimation, whoever is next to you muſt be before every body elſe. You even ſee in [b] wills (unleſs in the

[a] Virg. Æn. Pit's Tranſl.

[b] "It was the peculiar cuſtom of Rome, for the clients and "dependents of families, to bequeath at their death to their "patrons ſome conſiderable part of their eſtates, as the moſt "effectual teſtimony of their reſpect and gratitude; and the "more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to "his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honor of Lu- "cullus, that, while he governed Aſia as proconſul, many great "eſtates were left to him by will. And Nepos tells us, in "praiſe of Atticus, that he ſucceeded to many inheritances of "the ſame kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, "than of his friendly and amiable temper. Cicero, when he "was

the caſe of particular friendſhip to either of us) we are always equally conſidered, and that the legacies bequeathed to us are generally the ſame, both in number and value. Since therefore we are thus cloſely linked together by a ſimilitude of ſtudies, manners, reputation, and even by thoſe laſt inſtances of human judgment, ſhould it not mutually tend to enflame us with the moſt ardent affection? Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To CORNUTUS.

I Obey, my dear Collegue, your obliging commands to favor the weakneſs of my eyes, and accordingly I came hither in a covered litter, in which I was as much ſheltered as if I had been in my chamber. I forbear too (with difficulty indeed, however I do forbear) as well writing as reading, and ſtudy only with my ears. By drawing the curtains of my chamber, I make it gloomy, but not dark, and when I walk in my covered-portico, I ſhut the lower range of windows, and by that means enjoy as much ſhade as light. Thus I endeavor to accuſtom myſelf to the light by degrees. The bath being

" was falſely reproached by Antony, who being neglected on " theſe occaſions, declared in his reply, that he had gained " from this ſingle article, about two hundred thouſand pounds." Middleton's Life of Tully, v. 2. 514.

being of service in this case, I allow myself the use of it, as I do of wine, because it is not judged prejudicial; but I take it with great moderation. I do so, you know, at all times, but particularly now that I have [1] one who narrowly observes me. —I received the pullet, with great pleasure as coming from you, and weak as my eyes still are, they are strong enough however, to discern it is extremely fat. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. *To* FALCO.

YOU will not wonder I so strongly pressed you to confer the Tribunate upon my friend, when you shall be informed who and what he is; and as you have complied with my request, I may now acquaint you with his name and character. It is Cornelius Minutianus, who both in rank and virtue is the ornament of that province to which I owe my birth. His family and fortune are noble, and yet he pursues his studies with as much application, as if the necessity of his circumstances required it. He is a most upright judge, a most strenuous advocate, a most faithful friend. You will look upon the obligation as done to yourself, when you shall have an opportunity of taking a nearer view

[1] Meaning his wife, perhaps, or his physician.

view of this excellent perſon, who (not to ſpeak in too lofty terms of ſo modeſt a man) is equal to all the honors and titles that can be conferred upon him. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. *To* FABATUS.[a]

I Greatly rejoice that your ſtrength will permit you to take ſo long a journey as to [b] Mediolanum, in order to meet Tiro: but that you may continue to enjoy that happineſs, let me beg of you to ſpare yourſelf a fatigue ſo improper for a man of your years. I muſt inſiſt then, that you wait for him at Comum, and that you do not ſtir out of your own houſe, nor even out of your chamber to receive him. As I love him with the affection of a brother, it would be unreaſonable he ſhould expect from the perſon whom I honor as my parent, a point of ceremony which he would not require of his own. Farewel.

[a] His wife's grandfather.
[b] Milan.

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LETTER XXIV. To GEMINIUS.

NUmidia Quadratilla is lately dead, having lived almost to her eightieth year. She enjoyed 'till her last sickness, an uninterrupted state of health, with a strength and firmness of body unusual to persons of her sex. She has left a very prudent will, having disposed of two thirds of her estate to her grand-son, and the rest to her grand-daughter. The young lady I know little of, but the grand-son is one of the most favorite and intimate friends I have. He is a person of singular worth, whose merit entitles him to the affection of a relation, even where his blood does not. Tho' he is extremely beautiful, he escaped every malicious imputation both whilst a boy and when a youth: he was a husband at four and twenty, and would have been a father if providence had not disappointed his hopes. He lived in the family with his grand-mother, who was exceedingly devoted to the pleasures of the town, with great severity of conduct, yet at the same time with the utmost compliance. She retained a sett of [a] Pantomimes,

[a] These Pantomimes were, as their name imports, universal mimics, whose humor consisted in imitating the peculiar manner

tomimes, and was an encourager of this ſort of people to a degree inconſiſtent with a perſon of her ſex and rank. But Quadratus never appeared at theſe entertainments, not only when ſhe exhibited them in the theatre, but even in her own houſe; nor indeed did ſhe expect he ſhould. I once heard her ſay, when ſhe was recommending the ſtudies of her grand-ſon to my inſpection, that it was her cuſtom, in order to paſs away ſome of thoſe unemployed hours with which female life abounds, to amuſe herſelf with playing at [b] cheſs, or ſeeing the

ner and geſture of particular perſons. They were at firſt introduced upon the ſtage, as Scaliger ſuppoſes, to ſucceed the chorus and comedies, and divert the audience with apiſh poſtures and antic dances. In aftertimes thoſe interludes became diſtinct entertainments, and were exhibited apart from other plays. But the uſe of theſe Pantomimes was not confined to the ſtage only, for Suetonius informs us, they were introduced in funeral ſolemnities, in order to repreſent the manner of the deceaſed.

[b] This game among the Romans ſeems to have been much of the ſame nature with modern cheſs. Their men, which they called *Calculi* or *Latrunculi*, were made ſometimes of wax, and ſometimes of glaſs, and were diſtinguiſhed by black and white colors. The invention of it has been carried by ſome ſo high as the ſiege of Troy, but Peter Texeiras in his hiſtory of Perſia (as quoted by Pitiſcus in his Lex. Antiq. Rom.) imagines it to be of Perſian original, becauſe, ſays he, in all countries where this game is played, the names of the men are either the ſame with, or plainly a corruption of thoſe given to them in the Perſian language. Alluſions to this game are frequent in the claſſic writers, but the fulleſt deſcription of it is contained in the following lines, taken from the little Poem addreſs'd to Piſo, which is to be found at the end of ſome editions of Lucan, and is generally aſcribed to that author:

the mimicry of her pantomimes; but that whenever ſhe engaged either in the one or the other, ſhe conſtantly ſent away her grand-ſon to his ſtudies: a

cuſtom;

Te ſi forte juvat, ſtudiorum pondere feſſum,
Non languere tamen, luſuſque movere per artem,
Callidiore modo Tabula variatur aperta
Calculus, et vitreo peraguntur milite bella,
Ut niveus nigros, nunc et niger alliget albos.
Sed tibi quis non terga dedit? quis te duce ceſſit
Calculus? aut quis non periturus perdidit hoſtem?
Mille modis acies tua dimicat: ille petentem
Dum fugit, ipſe rapit: longo venit ille receſſu
Qui ſtetit in ſpeculis: hic ſe committere rixæ
Audet, et in prædam venientem decipit hoſtem:
Ancipites ſubit ille moras ſimiliſque ligato
Obligat ipſe duos: hic ad majora movetur,
Ut citus et fracta prorumpat in agmina mandra,
Clauſaque dejecto populatur mœnia vallo.
Interea, ſectis quamvis acerrima ſurgunt
Prælia militibus, plena tamen ipſe phalange,
Aut etiam pauco ſpoliata milite vincis,
Et tibi captivæ reſonat manus utraque turbæ.

Ad Piſon. Pemation

When, to relieve the labors of my mind,
Thou turn'ſt from deep reſearch in arts refin'd,
Not in ſoft indolence you waſte the hour,
But happier genius ſtill exerts its pow'r;
To mimic war the radiant troops are led,
And martial ranks the varied table ſpread;
There ſable bands, and here a ſnow-white train,
With doubtful fate of war the fight maintain.
But who with thee ſhall dare diſpute the field?
Led by thy hand, what warrior knows to yield?
Or if he fall, he falls with glorious pride,
His vanquiſh'd foe extended by his ſide.

Unnumber'd

cuſtom, I imagine, which ſhe obſerved as much out of a certain reverence, as affection, to the youth. I was a good deal ſurprized, as I am perſuaded you will be, at what he told me the laſt time the Pontifical [c] games were exhibited. As we were coming out of the theatre together, where we had been entertained with a ſhew of theſe pantomimes, *Do you know*, ſaid he, *this is the firſt time I ever ſaw Quadratilla's freedman dance?* Such is the character of her grand-ſon! while a ſet of men of a far different ſtamp, in order to do honor to Quadratilla (I am aſhamed to employ that word to what, in truth, was but the loweſt and groſſeſt flattery) were

run-

Unnumber'd ſtratagems thy forces try:
Now artful feign, and only feign, to fly.
Now boldly ruſhes 'midſt the ranks of war,
The chief who view'd the ſlaught'ring ſcene from far.
This, bravely daring in the arduous toil,
Repels the hoſt advancing to the ſpoil,
While cautious *that* moves dreadful on and ſlow,
And fraudful meditates the certain blow;
What tho' in guiſe a ſlave he ſeems in chains,
Two captives He in durance cloſe detains.
But ſee yon hero with impetuous haſte,
Burſts thro' the ranks, and lays the ramparts waſte.
While thus the mighty battle glows around,
And proſtrate chiefs beſtrow the well-fought ground,
Full and unbroken lo! thy ſquadrons ſtand,
Or ſcarce one warrior loſt of thy command;
The captive crowds thy victory proclaim,
And foes confeſs thy undiſputed fame.

c The prieſts, as well as other magiſtrates, exhibited public games to the people when they enter'd upon their office.

running up and down the theatre, pretending to be ſtruck with the utmoſt admiration and rapture at the performances of thoſe pantomimes, and then mimicking all their geſticulations and repeating the ſongs, in order to pay court to the lady patroneſs of this *Company.* But now all that theſe theatrical flatterers have got in return, is only a few trifling legacies, which they have the mortification to receive from an heir, who was never ſo much as preſent at Quadratilla's ſhews.—I ſend you this account, as knowing it is not diſagreeable to you to hear the news of the town, and becauſe when any occurrence has given me pleaſure, I love to renew it again by relating it. And indeed this inſtance of affection in Quadratilla, and the honor done therein to that excellent youth her grand-ſon, has afforded me a very ſenſible ſatisfaction ; as I extremely rejoice that the houſe which once belonged to Caſſius, the founder and chief of the [d] Caſſian ſchool, is come into the poſſeſſion of a perſon not leſs conſiderable than its former maſter. For be aſſured, my friend will fill it as he ought, and its ancient luſtre will again revive under Quadratus, who, I am perſuaded, will prove as eminent an orator, as Caſſius was a lawyer. Farewel.

[d] A famous lawyer who flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Claudius : thoſe who followed his opinion were ſaid to be Caſſiani, or of the ſchool of Caſſius.

LET-

LETTER XXV. *To* Rufus.

WHAT numbers of learned men does modeſty conceal, or love of eaſe withdraw from the notice of the world! and yet when we are going to ſpeak or recite in public, it is the judgment only of oſtentatious talents which we ſtand in awe of: whereas in truth, thoſe who ſilently cultivate the ſciences have ſo much a higher claim to regard, as they pay a calm veneration to whatever is great in works of genius: an obſervation which I give you upon experience. Terentius Junior having paſſed thro' the military offices ſuitable to a perſon of Equeſtrian rank, and executed with great integrity the poſt of receiver-general of the revenues in [a] Narbonenſian Gaul, retired to his eſtate, preferring the enjoyment of an uninterrupted tranquillity, to thoſe honors which his ſervices had merited. He invited me lately to his houſe, where, looking upon him only as a worthy maſter of a family, and an induſtrious farmer, I ſtarted ſuch topics of converſation in which I imagined he was moſt verſed. But he ſoon

[a] One of the four principal diviſions of antient Gaul: it extended from the Pyrenæan mountains, which ſeparate France from Spain, to the Alps, which divide it from Italy, and comprehended Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Savoy.

turned the discourse, and with a great fund of knowledge, entered upon points of literature. With what elegance did he express himself in Latin and Greek! for he is so perfectly well skilled in both, that which ever he uses, seems to be the language wherein he particularly excels. How extensive is his reading! how tenacious his memory! You would not imagine him the inhabitant of a country village, but of polite Athens herself. In short, his convesation has increased my solicitude concerning my works, and taught me to fear the judgment of these retired country gentlemen, as much as those of more known and conspicuous learning. And let me persuade you to consider them in the same light: for believe me, upon a careful observation, you will often find in the literary as well as military world, most formidable abilities concealed under a very unpromising appearance. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI. To MAXIMUS.

THE lingering disorder of a friend of mine gave me occasion lately to reflect that we are never so virtuous as when opprest with sickness. Where is the man, who under the pain of any distemper, is either solicited by avarice or enflamed with lust? At such a season he is neither a slave of love, nor the fool of ambition; he looks with indifference

ference upon the charms of wealth, and is contented with ever so small a portion of it, as being upon the point of leaving even that little. It is then he recollects there are Gods, and that he himself is but a [a] man: no mortal is then the object of his envy, his admiration, or his contempt; and the reports of slander neither raise his attention, nor feed his curiosity: his imagination is wholly employed [b] upon baths and fountains. These are the subjects of his cares and wishes, while he resolves, if he should recover, to pass the remainder of his days in ease and tranquillity, that is, in innocence and happiness. I may therefore lay down to you and myself a short rule, which the philosophers have endeavored to inculcate at the expence of many words, and even many volumes; that "we should practise in health, "those resolutions we form in sickness." Farewel.

[a] The awakening power of adversity in general, is so beautifully described by the banished duke in Shakespear's *As you like it*, that it will not, perhaps, be impertinent to take the privilege of a commentator, and produce it as a parallel passage, especially as the thought in the second line is exactly the same with this of Pliny's before us:

This is no flattery: These are counsellors
That *feelingly persuade me what I am.*
Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head. Act 2. Sc. 1.

[b] It is probable that fevers were the peculiar distemper of Rome, as Pliny in his general allusions to disorders of the body, seems always to consider them of the inflammatory kind.

LETTER XXVII. *To* SURA.

THE present recess from business we are now enjoying, affords you leisure to give, and me to receive instruction. I am extremely desirous therefore to know your sentiments concerning spectres, whether you believe they have a real form, and are a sort of divinities, or only the false impressions of a terrified imagination? What particularly inclines me to give credit to their existence, is a story [a] which I heard of Curtius Rufus. When he was in low circumstances and unknown in the world, he attended the governor of Africa into that province. One evening as he was walking in the public portico, he was extremely surprized with the figure of a woman which appeared to him, of a size and beauty more than human. She told him she was the tutelar power that presided over Africa, and was come to inform him of the future events of his life: that he should go back to Rome, where he should be raised to the highest honors, and return to that province invested with the proconsular dignity, and there should die. Accordingly every circumstance of this prophecy was actually accomplished.

[a] This story is likewise related by Tacitus in the 11th book of his annals, chap. 21.

plished. It is ſaid farther, that upon his arrival at Carthage, as he was coming out of the ſhip, the ſame figure accoſted him upon the ſhore. It is certain, at leaſt, that being ſeized with a fit of illneſs, tho' there were no ſymptoms in his caſe that led his attendants to deſpair, he inſtantly gave up all hope of recovery; judging, it ſhould ſeem, of the truth of the future part of the prediction, by that which had already been fulfilled, and of the misfortune which threatened him, by the ſucceſs which he had experienced. To this ſtory let me add another as remarkable as the former, but attended with circumſtances of great horror; which I will give you exactly as it was related to me. There was at Athens [b] a large and ſpacious houſe, which lay under the diſrepute of being haunted. In the dead of the night a noiſe, reſembling the claſhing of iron, was frequently heared, which, if you liſtened more attentively, ſounded like the rattling of chains; at firſt it ſeemed at a diſtance, but approached nearer by degrees: immediately afterward a ſpectre appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and ghaſtly, with a long beard and diſhevelled hair, rattling the chains on his feet and hands. The poor inhabitants in the

[b] Lucian ridicules a [illegible] pretty much reſembling this, but lays the ſcene of it in Corinth.

mean while paſſed their nights under the moſt dreadfull terrors imaginable. This, as it broke their reſt, ruined their health, and threw them into diſtempers, which, together with their horrors of mind, proved in the end fatal to their lives. Even in the day time, tho' the ſpirit did not appear, yet the remembrance of it made ſuch a ſtrong impreſſion upon their imaginations, that it ſtill ſeemed before their eyes, and continually alarmed them, tho' it was no longer preſent. By this means the houſe was at laſt deſerted, as being judged by every body to be abſolutely uninhabitable; ſo that it was now entirely abandoned to the ghoſt. However, in hopes that ſome tenant might be found who was ignorant of this great calamity which attended it, a bill was put up, giving notice that it was either to be let or ſold. It happened that Athenodorus the philoſopher came to Athens at this time, and reading the bill, enquired the price. The extraordinary cheapneſs raiſed his ſuſpicion; nevertheleſs, when he heared the whole ſtory, he was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he was more ſtrongly inclined to hire it, and, in ſhort, actually did ſo. When it grew towards evening, he ordered a couch to be prepared for him in the fore-part of the houſe, and, after calling for a light, together with his pen and tablets, he directed all his people to retire. But that his mind

might

might not, for want of employment, be open to the vain terrors of imaginary noiſes and ſpirits, he applied himſelf to writing with the utmoſt attention. The firſt part of the night paſſed with uſual ſilence, when at length the chains began to rattle: however, he neither lifted up his eyes, nor laid down his pen, but diverted his obſervation by purſuing his ſtudies with greater earneſtneſs. The noiſe increaſed and advanced nearer, till it ſeemed at the door, and at laſt in the chamber. He looked up and ſaw the ghoſt exactly in the manner it had been deſcribed to him: it ſtood before him, beckoning with the finger. Athenodorus made a ſign with his hand that it ſhould wait a little, and threw his eyes again upon his papers, but the ghoſt ſtill rattling his chains in his ears, he looked up and ſaw him beckoning as before. Upon this he immediately aroſe, and with the light in his hand, followed it. The ghoſt ſlowly ſtalked along, as if encumbered with his chains, and turning into the area of the houſe, ſuddenly vaniſhed. Athenodorus being thus deſerted, made a mark with ſome graſs and leaves where the ſpirit left him. The next day he gave information of this to the magiſtrates, and adviſed them to order that ſpot to be dug up. This was accordingly done, and the ſkeleton of a

man in chains was there found; for the body having lain a conſiderable time in the ground, was putrefied and mouldered away from the fetters. The bones being collected together were publicly buried, and thus after the ghoſt was appeaſed by the proper ceremonies, the houſe was haunted no more. This ſtory I believe upon the credit of others; what I am going to mention I give you upon my own. I have a freed-man named Marcus, who is by no means illetirate. One [c] night as he and his younger brother were lying together, he fancied he ſaw ſomebody upon his bed, who took out a pair of ſciſſars, and cut off the hair from the top part of his head, and in the morning, it appeared the boy's hair was actually cut, and the clippings lay ſcattered about the floor. A ſhort time after this, an event of the like nature contributed to give credit to the former

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[c] Thoſe who are unacquainted with the genius of the antient Romans, may be inclined to think meanly of our author's judgment, from this and the following ſtory; but when it is remembered that the greateſt characters which we meet with among that illuſtrious people, are all ſtrongly marked with a vein of ſuperſtition, no particular charge of weak credulity can with juſtice be brought from hence againſt Pliny. The truth is, it was a national turn, and countenanced by the conſtitution of their government, inſomuch that omens, even of the loweſt kind, were conſidered previous to every ſtep either of foreign or domeſtic concern: and the wiſeſt and graveſt of their hiſtorians, the judicious Livy not excepted, have given into accounts of this nature. Even a noble hiſtorian among our own countrymen, has not ſcrupled to inſert a relation of the ſame kind and credibility, in his hiſtory of the civil wars.

mer ſtory. A young lad of my family was ſleeping in his apartment with the reſt of his companions, when two perſons clad in white came in (as he tells the ſtory) thro' the windows, and cut off his hair as he lay, and as ſoon as they had finiſhed the operation, returned the ſame way they entered. The next morning it was found that this boy had been ſerved juſt as the other, and with the very ſame circumſtance of the hair ſpread about the room. Nothing remarkable indeed followed theſe events, unleſs that I eſcaped a proſecution, in which, if Domitian (during whoſe reign this happened) had lived ſome time longer, I ſhould certainly have been involved. For after the death of that emperor, articles of impeachment againſt me were found in his ſcrutore, which had been exhibited by Carus. It may therefore be conjectured, ſince it is cuſtomary for perſons under any public accuſation to let their hair grow, this cutting off the hair of my ſervants was a ſign I ſhould eſcape the imminent danger that threatened me. Let me deſire you then maturely to conſider this queſtion. The ſubject merits your examination; as, I truſt, I am not myſelf altogether unworthy to participate of the abundance of your ſuperior knowledge. And tho' you ſhould, with your uſual ſcepticiſm, ballance between two opinions, yet I hope you will throw the weightier reaſons on one ſide, leſt, whilſt I conſult you in

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order to have my doubts ſettled, you ſhould diſmiſs me in the ſame ſuſpence and uncertainty that occaſioned this application. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. To Septitius.

THere are, it ſeems, who have condemned me to you, as being upon all occaſions too laviſh in commendation of my friends. I acknowledge the charge, and glory in it too; for can there be a nobler error than an exceſs of benevolence? But ſtill, who are theſe, let me aſk, that are better acquainted with my friends than I am myſelf? Yet grant there are any ſuch, why will they deny me ſo pleaſing a miſtake? For ſuppoſing my friends deſerve not the high encomiums I give them, certainly I am happy in believing they do. Let them recommend then this ungenerous ſtrictneſs to thoſe (and their number is not inconſiderable) who imagine they ſhew their judgment, when they indulge their cenſure. As for myſelf, they will never be able to perſuade me I can be guilty of an exceſs [a] in friendſhip. Farewel.

[a] Balzac very prettily obſerves; "Il y a des rivieres qui "ne ſont jamais tant de bien que quand elles ſe debordent; de "meme l'amitie n'a rien meilleur que l'exces."

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LETTER XXIX. To MONTANUS.

IT would raiſe your laughter firſt, and then your indignation, and perhaps, when you had recollected yourſelf a little, you would be inclined to laugh again, were you to read what you will ſcarce give credit to without reading. I lately obſerved in the Tiburtine [a] road, near the firſt mile-ſtone, a monument erected to the memory of [b] Pallas, with the following inſcription: THE SENATE DECREED TO HIM, AS A REWARD FOR HIS FIDELITY AND AFFECTION TO HIS PATRONS, THE HONOR OF THE PRÆTORIAN [c] ORNAMENTS, TOGETHER WITH THE SUM OF FIFTEEN MILLION OF [d] SESTERCES: BUT HE WAS CONTENTED WITH ACCEPTING ONLY THE HONOR. I am not indeed apt to wonder at diſtinctions of this ſort, which oftener proceed from Fortune than Judgment; but I could not help reflecting when I read this

[a] The road leading to *Tivoli*, in Campania.

[b] He was at firſt a ſlave in the court of Claudius Cæſar, who afterwards gave him his freedom, and raiſed him to his chief favor. The patrons mentioned in this Inſcription, are that emperor and his conſort Agrippina, to whom Pallas had likewiſe recommended himſelf by ſome ſignal ſervices.

[c] The ſenate, as a mark of honorable diſtinction, would ſometimes decree the privilege of wearing the ornaments peculiar to certain dignities, to perſons who had not enjoyed the office to which thoſe ornaments were annexed.

[d] About 320,000 l. of our money.

this inſcription, how empty and ridiculous are thoſe honors, which are thus ſometimes thrown away upon dirt and infamy; which ſuch a raſcal, in ſhort, had the aſſurance both to accept and to refuſe, and then ſet himſelf forth to poſterity as an example of ſingular moderation! Yet why ſhould it raiſe my indignation? rather let me treat it as a matter to be laughed at, that perſons of this character may not flatter themſelves they have obtained any thing very conſiderable, when their ſucceſs only expoſes them to ridicule. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. *To* GENITOR.

I AM extremely concerned that you have loſt your pupil, a youth, as your letter aſſures me, of ſuch great hopes. Can I want to be informed, that his ſickneſs and death muſt have interrupted your ſtudies, knowing, as I do, with what exactneſs you fill up every duty of life, and how unlimited your affection is to all thoſe to whom you give your eſteem? As for myſelf, buſineſs purſues me even hither, and I am not out of the reach of people who oblige me to act either as their judge, or their arbitrator. To this I muſt add, not only the continual complaints of the farmers, who claim a ſort of preſcription to try my patience as they pleaſe; but the neceſſity of letting

out

out my farms: an affair which gives me much trouble, as it is exceedingly difficult to find out proper tenants. For these reasons I can only study by snatches; still however I study. I sometimes read, and sometimes I compose; but my reading teaches me, by a very mortifying comparison, with what ill success I attempt to be an author myself. Tho' indeed you give me great encouragement, when you compare the piece I wrote in vindication of *Helvidius*, to the oration of Demosthenes against Midias. I confess I had that harangue in my view when I composed mine; not that I pretend to rival it, (that would be an absurd and mad attempt indeed) but I endeavored, I own, to imitate it, as far as the difference of our subjects would admit, and as nearly as a genius of the lowest rank can copy one of the highest. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI. To Cornutus.

CLaudius Pollio is extremely desirous of your friendship, and he deserves it not only for that reason, but because he gives you *his*; as few ever require the one, without returning the other. He is an upright, honest, good-natured man, and modest, I had almost said, beyond measure; if indeed, it is possible to be so. We served

in the army together, where he commanded a troop of horſe, and I had an opportunity of taking a nearer view of his character, than merely what his being my fellow-officer gave me. I was appointed by the lieutenat general to examine the accounts of the ſeveral companies, and as I diſcovered many inſtances of groſs avarice and neglect of duty in ſome, ſo I found the higheſt integrity and exacteſt care in him. He was afterwards promoted to very conſiderable employments in the management of the revenue; yet no temptations could turn aſide the innate biaſs of his ſoul from honeſty, no proſperity ſwell his breaſt, but he preſerved in all the variety of poſts thro' which he paſſed, an unbroken repution of humanity; as he ſupported the toils of buſineſs with the ſame fortitude of mind he now diſcovers in his retreat. He once indeed quitted his retirement for a ſhort time, with great applauſe, being called by my worthy friend Corellius to his aſſiſtance, in purchaſing and dividing out thoſe lands which were given by the liberality of the emperor [a] Nerva. And could there be any thing more to his honor, than to be thus particularly ſingled out from ſo many others, by a perſon

[a] Nerva reſtored to the Romans all that Domitian had plundered them of, and gave a very large ſum of money to be laid out in the purchaſe of lands for the ſupport of decayed families.

ſon of ſo eminent a character? You may judge how faithfully he reveres the ſacred ties of friendſhip, by caſting your eyes upon the laſt wills[b] of ſeveral of his friends, particularly that of Muſonius Baſſus, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed ſenſe. Pollio (as he cultivates eloquence as well as every other valuable endowment) has very gratefully endeavored to perpetuate and extend the memory of Baſſus, by publiſhing an account of his life; a circumſtance too uncommon, as well as too generous, not to be applauded, ſince the generality of the world ſeldom mention the dead, unleſs to revile them. Receive then this worthy man, greatly deſirous (believe me) of your friendſhip, with the embraces of the warmeſt affection, and even invite him to accept of it as what you owe him; for he who makes the firſt amicable advances, can not ſo properly be ſaid to merit a favor, as a reward. Farewel.

[b] See letter 20. of this book note[b].

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LETTER XXXII. *To* FABATUS[a].

I AM extremely glad that the arrival of my friend Tiro was acceptable to you. But above all I rejoice that you made uſe (as your letter informs me) of the opportunity which the preſence of the proconſul afforded you, of manumizing[b] ſeveral of your ſlaves. For as I wiſh to ſee our country improved by every poſſible method, ſo particularly by an increaſe of citizens, as that of all others, is the ſtrongeſt ornament a community can receive. I am pleaſed too (not out of a ſpirit of vanity, however I confeſs I am pleaſed) with what you farther add, that both you and I were highly extolled, in the acknowledgments which were made upon this occaſion; for as Xenophon obſerves, "*the voice* "*of praiſe is ſweet*;" eſpecially when we think we deſerve it. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIII. *To* TACITUS.

I Strongly preſage (and I am perſuaded I ſhall not be deceived) that your hiſtories will be immortal. I ingenuouſly own therefore[c], I ſo much the more earneſtly

[a] His wife Calphurnia's grandfather.

[b] See letter 16 of this book.

[c] As ſome ingenious writers ha... affected to draw a compariſon between our author and Cicero, to the diſadvantage of the

earneſtly wiſh to find a place in them. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the beſt artiſts, ought we not to deſire that our actions may be celebrated by an author of your diſtinguiſhed character? in view to this, I acquaint you with the following affair, which tho' it cannot have eſcaped

the former; it will not, 'tis hoped, be thought any want of reverence to a character, which deſerves the higheſt veneration from every admirer of the fine arts, to ſet before the reader an inſtance, where Pliny greatly outſhines that noble example he was, upon all occaſions, ſo deſirous of copying. There is a letter of Cicero's extant, to the ſame purpoſe as this of Pliny's, addreſſed to his friend Lucceius, * who was writing the hiſtory of his own times. The agreeable Montaign condemns them both as inſtances of immoderate ambition; and obſerves, that "† fortune, as it were, in pure ſpight has taken care to hand down to us the vanity of theſe requeſts, while ſhe has long ſince deſtroyed the hiſtories they ſolicited." Let it be remarked, however, in juſtice to our author, that upon a compariſon of the two letters, the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reaſonable than that of Cicero; for the latter does not ſcruple to preſs his friend to tranſgreſs the rules of hiſtory, and break through the bounds of truth in his favor: *Te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut & ornas ea vehementius etiam quam fortaſſe ſentis, & in ea leges hiſtoriæ negligas, amorique noſtro pluſculum etiam quam concedit veritas largire:* whereas Pliny, with a far nobler ſpirit, expreſsly declares he does not deſire Tacitus ſhould heighten the fact, and that actions of real worth need only to be ſet in their true light. In Cicero's letter we read the extravagant dictates of the moſt immoderate ambition; and he himſelf confeſſes he had not the aſſurance to look his friend in the face while he propoſed them: *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere ſæpe conantem deterruit pudor:* in Pliny's we ſee nothing but what is agreeable to cool ſenſe, and the honeſt ambition of one who was conſcious he had acted well, and deſirous poſterity ſhould know it.

* Ep. fam. l. 5. 12. † Tom. I. 329.

your attention, as it is mentioned in the [c] journals of the public, ſtill I acquaint you with it, that you may be more ſenſible how agreeable it will be to me, that this action, greatly heightened by the hazard which attended it, ſhould receive an additional luſtre from the teſtimony of ſo bright a genius. The ſenate appointed Herennius Senecio, and myſelf, counſel for the province of Bœtica, in their proſecution of Bœbius Maſſa. He was condemned, and the houſe ordered his effects to be ſeized into the hands of the public officer. Shortly after, Senecio having learnt that

[c] Whether Pliny means by the *Publica acta*, the journal of the ſenate, or what * Tacitus and ‡ Suetonius call the *Diurna acta*, may admit of a doubt. The former ſeems to have been exactly in the nature of our Votes of the houſe of commons, wherein a ſhort account was given to the public of what paſſed in the ſenate; the latter appears very much to reſemble our Gazette, being an authoriſed narrative of the tranſactions worthy of notice which happened in Rome. Petronius has given us the form of the latter of theſe, in his account of Trimalchio; and as it may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to the Engliſh reader, to ſee how exactly a Roman news-paper runs in the ſtile of a modern one, the following is an article or two out of it.

"On the 26th of July, 30 boys and 40 girls were born at "Trimalchio's eſtate at Cuma."

"At the ſame time a ſlave was put to death for uttering "diſreſpectful words againſt his lord."

"The ſame day a fire broke out in Pompey's gardens, which "began in the night, in the ſteward's apartment." Petron. ſatyr. p. 196. ed. Var.

* Annal. 30. 31. ‡ In J. Cæſar. 20.

that the consuls intended to sit to hear petitions, came to me, and proposed that we should go together, and address them with the same unanimity we executed the office which had been enjoined us, that they would not suffer Massa's effects to be dissipated by those who were appointed to preserve them. I answered, that as we had been counsel in this cause by order of the senate, I would recommend it to his consideration, whether it would be proper for us, after sentence had passed, to intermeddle any farther. "You are at liberty, said "he, to prescribe what bounds you please to "yourself, who have no particular connections "with the province, except what arise from your "late services to them; but it is not so with me, "who was born there, and enjoyed the post of "Quæstor among them." If such, I told him, was his determined resolution, I was ready to attend him, that whatever resentment should be the consequence of this affair, it might not fall singly upon himself. Accordingly we went to the consuls, where Senecio spoke what he thought proper upon the occasion, to which I subjoined a few words on my part. We had scarce ended, when Massa, complaining that Senecio had not acted against him with the fidelity of an advocate, but the bitterness of an enemy, desired he might be at liberty to prosecute

ſecute him for [d] treaſon. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck with the utmoſt conſternation and horror at this motion. I immediately roſe up; "Moſt "noble

[d] The reader will undoubtedly be ſurprized to find a proſecution of *treaſon*, founded merely upon a ſuggeſtion of miſconduct in the management of a private trial. But this difficulty will be cleared, perhaps, by conſidering the character of Domitian, in whoſe reign this tranſaction happened. To ſhew any diſlike to thoſe who were the favorites of that infamous emperor, was conſtrued by him into an act of treaſon againſt himſelf. He could gather that poiſonous weed (as our author in his panegyric ſtrongly expreſſes it) even from the barren ſands of the theatre (*crimina majeſtatis in arena colligebat*;) for not to admire his very gladiators, was deemed, in thoſe wretched times, an act of diſloyalty. If therefore Maſſa was in the good graces of Domitian, it would have been very eaſy for the former, to ſtrain the honeſt zeal which Senecio had ſhewn in conducting this cauſe, into an inſtance of diſreſpect to the emperor. And the character which Tacitus gives of this Maſſa ſtrongly ſupports that ſuppoſition, for he deſcribes him as the bane of every good man, and an inſtrument of thoſe calamities which the Romans ſuffered under Domitian: *optimo cuique exitioſus*, ſays he, *& in cauſas malorum quæ tulimus*. [Tacit. hiſt. l. 4. 50.] It muſt be owned however, that the expreſſion in the original (*poſtulatio impietatis*) does not ſo abſolutely and neceſſarily imply, a proſecution of treaſon, but that it may admit of another interpretation. Accordingly, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed learning, who favored the tranſlator with his ſentiments upon this paſſage, has offered a conjecture much too ingenious to be ſuppreſſed. "It was the practice (he obſerves) "of the antients, that all deſpoſites, truſts, ſequeſtrations, "wills, &c. ſhould be lodged in the moſt ſecure and unſuſ-"pected places; accordingly, they choſe their temples for "that purpoſe, and the prieſts were of courſe the legal ſe-"queſtrators:

Nos ibi apud Theotimum omne aurum depoſuimus,
Qui illic ſacerdos eſt in Dianæ Epheſiæ.

Plaut. Bacch.

"And

" noble consuls, said I, I am afraid it should seem " that Massa has tacitly charged me with having " favored him in this cause, since he did not think " proper to join me in the desired prosecution." This short speech was extremely well received by those who were present; as it soon afterwards got air, and was mentioned by every body with general applause. The late emperor Nerva (who tho' at that time in a private station, yet gave attention to every worthy action which passed in public) wrote a letter to me upon the occasion with great good sense, wherein he not only congratulated me, but the age, which had produced an example so much in the spirit (as he was pleased to call it) of the antients. But, whatever it be, it is in your power to heighten and spread the lustre of it: tho' far am I from desiring you would in the least exceed the bounds of reality. History ought to be guided by strict truth, and worthy actions require nothing more. Farewel.

" And of this the classic and civil law-books furnish abundant " proof. He thinks therefore, that an insinuation that Massa " had been tampering with the church to betray this *fidei-com-* " *missum*, and that the security became suspicious, might *pos-* " *sibly* carry an action of *impiety*." However, upon a closer examination of the letter, and comparing it with the history of that age, the interpretation adopted in the text, may, perhaps, be justified.

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I. To Septitius.

I Had a good journey hither, excepting only that ſome of my ſervants were diſordered by the violent heats. Poor Encolpius, my [a] reader, whoſe aſſiſtance is of ſuch ſervice to me in my ſtudies and amuſements, was ſo affected with the duſt, that it occaſioned his ſpitting of blood: an

[a] Perſons of rank and literature among the Romans, retained in their families a domeſtic, whoſe ſole buſineſs was to read to them.

accident which will prove as unfortunate to me, as to himself, should he be thereby rendered unfit for those purposes of literature in which he so greatly excels. If that should unhappily be the event, where shall I find one who will read my works with so much spirit and harmony, or admire them with so much fondness? But the gods seem to favor our better hopes, as his bleeding is stopped, and his pain abated. He is himself extremely temperate; as no care or concern is wanting either on our parts or his physician's. This, with the wholesomness of the air, and the quiet of retirement, gives us reason to expect, that the country will contribute as much to his health, as to his repose. Farewel.

LETTER II. *To* CALVISIUS.

OTHER people visit their estates in order to recruit their purses; whilst I go to mine only to return so much the poorer. I had sold my vintage to the merchants, who were extremely eager to purchase it, encouraged by the price it then bore, and what it was probable it would rise to: however they were disappointed in their expectations. Upon this occasion to have made the same general

general abatement to all, would have been much the easiest, tho' not so equitable a method. But justice, according to my estimate, is the noblest of all virtues, and to be pursued in one's domestic as well as public conduct; in minute, as in great affairs; and in our own, as well as in the concerns of others. And if every deviation from rectitude is equally [a] criminal, every approach to it must be equally laudable. In the first place then, I remitted to all in general one eighth part of the price they had agreed to give me, that none might go away without a mark of my liberality: in the next, I particularly considered those who having advanced large sums towards their purchase, and done me so much the more service, and had been greater sufferers themselves. To those therefore, who bought of me to the value of more than [b] ten thousand sesterces, I gave back (over and beside that which I may call the general and common eighth) a tenth pat of what they had paid above that sum. I don't know whether I express myself clearly enough; I will endeavor to explain my meaning more fully: for instance, suppose a man had purchased of me to the value of [c] fifteen thousand sesterces,

[a] It was a doctrine maintained by the Stoics, that all crimes are equal.

[b] About 80l. of our money.

[c] About 120l. of our money.

ſterces, I remitted to him one eighth part of that whole ſum, and likewiſe one tenth of [d] five thouſand. Beſides this, as ſeveral had depoſited, in different proportions, part of the price they had agreed to pay, whilſt others had advanced nothing; I thought it would not be agreeable to equity, that all theſe ſhould be favored with the ſame undiſtinguiſhed remiſſion. To thoſe therefore who had made any payments, I returned a tenth part upon each of the ſums ſo paid. By this means I made a proper acknowledgment to each of them, according to their reſpective deſerts; and likewiſe encouraged them, not only to deal with me for the future, but to be forward in their payments. This inſtance of my good-nature or my judgment (call it which you pleaſe) was a very conſiderable expence to me. However, I found my account in it; for all the country greatly approved both of this uncommon piece of generoſity, and the method in which I conducted it. Even thoſe whom I did not *meaſure* (as they ſay) *by the ſame ell*, but diſtinguiſhed according to their ſeveral degrees, thought themſelves obliged to me, in proportion to the integrity of their diſpoſitions; and went away pleaſed with having experienced, that not with me

[e] *The brave and mean an equal honor find.*

Farewel.

LET-

[d] About 40l ſterling.
[e] Hom. Il. lib. 9. v. 319.

LETTER III. To SPARSUS.

YOU tell me that of all my works, the laſt I ſent you is your greateſt favorite. The ſame judgment has likewiſe been paſſed upon it by another of my very learned friends: and I am the more inclined to believe that neither of you is miſtaken, not only as it is improbable you both ſhould, but becauſe I am much diſpoſed to flatter myſelf. I would always, indeed, have my laſt performance appear the moſt finiſhed; and for that reaſon prefer the ſpeech I lately publiſhed, to that which you mention. I will ſend it you as ſoon as I can meet with a ſafe conveyance. And now I have raiſed your expectations of this piece, I doubt you will be diſappointed when it comes to your hands. In the mean while, however, you may expect it as ſomething that will pleaſe you: and who knows but it may? Farewel.

LETTER IV. To CANINIUS.

I Greatly approve your deſign of writing a poem upon the [a] Dacian war: for where could you have choſen a ſubject ſo new, ſo full of events, ſo extenſive,

[a] Dacia comprehended part of the preſent kingdom of Hungary, together with part of Tranſilvania, Servia, Walachia

tensive, and so poetical? a subject, which while it has all the marvellous of fiction, has all the solidity of truth. You will sing of rivers taught to flow in new channels; of bridges [b] thrown over immense rivers; of encampments upon the dreadful steep of

chia and Moldavia. It was first subdued and added to the Roman empire by Trajan, in memory of whose victories over this nation, the famous pillar is supposed to have been erected, called *Trajan's pillar*, which is still to be seen entire at Rome. It is 128 Italian feet high, to the top of which you ascend by 184 steps, which wind round the inside. The outside is carved in basso relievo, with the representation of the most remarkable circumstances of this expedition. [Bartoli colonna Traj.] After the death of Trajan, his ashes were placed, as some authors say, in a golden ball on the top of this noble pillar: but Eutropius affirms they were deposited under it. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 5.

[b] It is probable Pliny here alludes to the famous bridge built by Trajan over the river Danube, in the upper Mœsia, that *last flight*, as Sir William Temple calls it, *of antient architecture*. "It is stiled by the antients, the most stately fa-
" bric of that nature in the universe. It was all of square
" stone, and contained 20 arches, each of them 120 feet
" above the foundation, and 60 feet in breadth, all distinct
" from each other 170 feet. It was built where the river was
" narrowest, and consequently where the stream was strongest
" and most rapid; which renders the fabric still more stupen-
" dous, on account of the almost insurmountable difficulties
" they must have met with in laying so large a foundation.
" The architect employed upon this occasion, was one Apol-
" lodorus of Damascus, who, it seems, left a description of
" this great work. We are told that some remains are still to
" be seen of it near Zeveria, in Lower Hungary.—Adrian
" fearing the Barbarians might make use of it to invade the
" Roman territories, broke down the arches; but the piers
" were still standing in Dion Cassius's time, that is, 120 years
" after, though they served only to shew, says the writer,
" the utmost extent of human power. This stupendous fa-
" bric was begun and ended in a summer." Univers. Hist. v. 6. p. 14.

of craggy mountains; and of a mighty [c] king ſuperior to adverſity, tho' forced to abandon his crown, and even his life. You will deſcribe too, the glorious victor's double triumph, one of which was the firſt that was ever gained over that nation, 'till then unſubdued, as the other will be the laſt. There is one difficulty however, and a very conſiderable one it is, where to find expreſſions equal to the grandeur of the ſubject; a difficulty which ſeems almoſt inſuperable even to your elevated genius, tho' capable of riſing to the moſt ſublime ſubjects. Something too there will be of labor in reconciling thoſe barbarous and uncouth names, eſpecially that of the [d] king himſelf, to the harmony of Grecian numbers. There is nothing, however, ſo hard that art and induſtry cannot, at leaſt, mitigate, if not abſolutely ſubdue. If Homer is allowed to contract or lengthen, or change even Grecian names, which are nothing harſh to the ear, in order to make them run more ſmoothly in his verſe; why ſhould the ſame liberty be refuſed to you, eſpecially ſince it is neceſſity,

[c] Decebalus, king of the Dacians, who rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror, or live in dependence, put an end to his own life.

[d] From hence Catanæus conjectures upon the credit of Oroſius, that the true name of the king was *Diurpaneus*, which was afterwards changed by the Greek and Latin writers, to Decebalus.

neceſſity, and not affectation, that pleads for that indulgence? Come on then, my friend, and after having, as poets are wont, invoked the gods, and among the reſt, that divine hero[e], whoſe mighty deeds and deep counſels you are going to celebrate, looſen all your cordage, ſpread every ſail, and then, if ever, launch forth with the full flow of your unbounded genius:—for you muſt allow me to be poetical, when I am talking to a poet. And now I inſiſt that you ſend me every part, as ſoon as it has received your laſt finiſhing touches; and even before, while it is only a rude ſketch, and yet in embryo. You will tell me, that a detached piece cannot pleaſe, like one entire deſign, nor an unfiniſhed plan be as agreeable as a complete performance. I am very ſenſible it cannot, and therefore ſhall conſider it only as a work in its firſt rudiments, as a ſeparate and disjoined member; and ſhall faithfully lay it up in my ſcrutore, to wait your laſt hand. Indulge me then with this inſtance, above others, of your affection, that you ſuffer me to be privy to what you would chooſe to conceal even from every body. In a word, tho' the more time and caution you take in communicating your works, the more, poſſibly, it may heighten my eſteem and ap-

[e] Trajan.

approbation of the poet, yet the leſs you uſe of either upon this occaſion, the more I ſhall certainly love and applaud the friend. Farewel.

LETTER V. *To* GEMINIUS.

OUR friend Macrinus is pierced with the ſevereſt affliction. He has loſt his wife! a lady whoſe uncommon virtues would have rendered her an ornament even to antient times. He lived with her thirty nine years in the moſt uninterrupted harmony. How reſpectful was her behavior to him! and how did ſhe herſelf deſerve the higheſt veneration, as ſhe blended and united in her character, all thoſe amiable virtues that adorn and diſtinguiſh the different periods of female life! It ſhould, methinks, afford great conſolation to Macrinus, that he has thus long enjoyed ſo exquiſite a bleſſing. But that reflection ſeems only ſo much the more to imbitter his loſs; as indeed the pain of parting with our happineſs, ſtill riſes in proportion to the length of its continuance. I cannot therefore but be greatly anxious for ſo valuable a friend, till this wound to his peace ſhall be in a condition to admit of proper applications. Time however, together with the neceſſity of the thing, and even a ſatiety of grief itſelf, will beſt effect his cure. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER VI. *To* MONTANUS.

MY laſt letter has by this time, I imagine, informed you, that I obſerved lately upon a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, the following inſcription: *The* [a] *ſenate decreed to him as a reward for his fidelity and affection to his patrons, the honor of the Prætorian ornaments, together with the ſum of fifteen millions of ſeſterces: but he was contented with accepting only the honor.* I afterwards thought it worth while to ſearch for this decree, and found it run in a ſtrain ſo very extragavant, that this proud inſcription ſeems modeſt and humble to it. The elogiums which have been given to the moſt illuſtrious Romans, I do not ſay thoſe of more remote antiquity, as the Scipios and the Mummii; but (to come nearer our own times) the Marii, the Syllas, and the Pompeys, fall infinitely ſhort of thoſe which have been laviſhed upon Pallas. Was it a ſpirit of banter, ſhall I ſuppoſe, or a principle of ſlavery that produced this decree? I would aſcribe it to the former, were not raillery unbecoming the dignity of the ſenate. Muſt it be attribut-

[a] See B. 7. let. 29th, and the notes there.

ed then to be the moſt abject ſubjection? Yet who is ſo wretchedly ſunk as to ſubmit to ſuch meanneſs! Or was it the luſt of ambition that gave birth to this decree, and the author, perhaps, propoſed it with a view of paving the way to his own advancement? But whom can we ſuppoſe ſo mad as to deſire to raiſe himſelf at the expence both of his own and the public honor, and that in a community where to be firſt in rank was only to be firſt in flattery of Pallas? Not to mention their offering to a ſlave the Prætorian honors; they were ſlaves themſelves who did ſo: to paſs by that part of their decree, where they ſay that Pallas ought not only to be intreated, but compelled to wear the [b] golden ring: no doubt it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the ſenate, that a perſon of Prætorian rank ſhould wear an iron one: not to take notice, I ſay, of theſe ſlighter inſtances, let us obſerve the following very extraordinary clauſe: *The ſenate* (and was it not purified after ſo vile a pollution?) *the ſenate returns thanks to Claudius, not only for the honorable mention he himſelf was pleaſed to make of Pallas, but for the opportunity afforded the houſe of teſtifying their good will towards him.* It was highly to the credit, no doubt, of the ſenate, not to appear

[b] None but knights and ſenators had the privilege of wearing a gold ring; as an iron one was a badge of ſervitude.

appear deficient in point of gratitude to Pallas! It goes on: *That Pallas, to whom every man according to his abilities, acknowledges his obligations, may receive the just reward of his fidelity and singular services.* Would one not imagine that he had extended the bounds of the empire, or, at least, preserved the armies of the state? But it proceeds: *since no occasion more agreeable could present itself to the senate and the Roman people, of exercising their liberality, than an opportunity of rewarding one who had proved himself so honest and disinterested a guardian of the emperor's finances.*—Such was the glorious ambition of the senate at that time; such the highest pleasure of the people; such the most agreeable occasion of exercising their liberality, to have an opportunity of exhausting the public treasures upon Pallas! It follows; *the senate therefore voted that fifteen millions of sesterces should be paid him out of the treasury, and, as he has a soul far above desires of this kind, that the emperor should be so much the more strongly intreated to use his authority with Pallas, to oblige him to comply with the inclination of the senate.* Nothing more indeed seemed wanting to complete this extraordinary scene, than that the imperial authority should interpose; that Pallas should be pressed to yield to the senate; that Cæsar himself should be called in to oppose this

insolent

insolent piece of self-denial, lest the humble Pallas should refuse fifteen millions of sesterces! He refused nevertheless, the offer the public made him of this immense sum; the only thing he could possibly have done more arrogant than accepting it. Yet even this the senate applauded, and seems to lament in the following clause. *But whereas our excellent prince and father of his country has, at the instance of Pallas, expressed his desire to have that part of the vote remitted which relates to the giving him fifteen millions of sesterces out of the treasury, the senate declares, that it was with much willingness and great justness they voted, amongst other honors, the said intended sum to Pallas, upon account of his fidelity and vigilance: however, in compliance with the emperor's inclination, which they think cannot without impiety be opposed in any instance, they obey it even in this.* Figure to yourself Pallas entering his protest, as it were, against the decree of the senate; moderating the honors which were offered him, and refusing, as something much more valuable, the fifteen millions, when at the same time he accepted the Prætorian ornaments, as a present of an inferior nature. Represent to yourself Cæsar yielding to the intreaties of his freedman in the face of the senate, or rather indeed, obeying his commands; for in such a case, to *pro-*

pose, is to command. Imagine the senate declaring in every clause of this decree, that it was with great willingness and justice the house intended, among other honors, to present Pallas with this sum: and that it would have persisted in doing so, but for the inclination of the emperor, which it was impious in any point to oppose! Was it owing then only to the obsequiousness of the senate, and the modesty of Pallas, that he did not carry off fifteen millions out of the treasury? And was it in this instance, of all others, that they would have made an exception to their obedience, if they had thought it right to have done so in any? And now, after all this, you will imagine perhaps, that you are got to the end. Have patience however, there is still something more remarkable behind: *And whereas it is highly expedient, that the generous disposition of the emperor to approve and reward merit, should be every where made known and celebrated, especially in such places where those who have the care and administration of his affairs, may be excited to an imitation; and whereas the approved fidelity and integrity of Pallas may stir up others to endeavor at so laudable an emulation.—It is therefore resolved, that the memorial which the emperor read to the senate on the 28th of January last, together with the decree of the senate thereupon, shall be engraven*

in

in tablets of braſs, and hung up near the martial ſtatue by Julius Cæſar. It was not, it ſeems, ſufficient that the ſenate alone ſhould be witneſs to this complicated diſgrace; but the moſt frequented place in all Rome was choſen, in order to diſplay it to that and future ages: it was decreed, that all the honors of a moſt inſolent ſlave, both thoſe which he refuſed, and thoſe which, as much as in the authors of the decree lay, he had borne, ſhould be inſcribed in braſs: the Prætorian honors decreed to Pallas were inſcribed, like antient treaties or ſacred laws, upon public and everlaſting monuments of braſs! ſo great was their —— I know not what name to give it——that the emperor choſe to diſplay his weakneſs, the ſenate its meanneſs, and Pallas his inſolence in the face of all the world! The ſenate was not aſhamed to palliate this turpitude with the ſhew of reaſon; and a noble one, in truth, it was, even *that others might be encouraged by the rewards conferred upon Pallas, to a laudable emulation of his conduct!* Thus contemptible were all honors render'd, even thoſe which the noble Pallas did not diſdain to accept! And yet there were found perſons of rank and birth, who were ſo humble as to deſire and ſollicit thoſe very honors, which they thus ſaw conferred upon a freed-

[c] In the Forum.

man, and offered by ſlaves. Happy for me that I was not born in thoſe times, which I cannot help bluſhing for, as if I had actually lived in them! and I doubt not, they raiſe the ſame ſentiments in you. I know the honeſt warmth of your temper, and am perſuaded, tho' I may perhaps in ſome places, have been tranſported into a higher ſtrain of expreſſion, than is ſuitable to the epiſtolary ſtyle, you will rather think I have ſhewn too little, than too much indignation. Farewel.

LETTER VII. To Tacitus.

WHEN you ſent me your treatiſe, it was not (as you were pleaſed to ſay yourſelf) as one maſter, or diſciple, would communicate his works to another, but with the condeſcenſion of a preceptor to his ſcholar; for in that relation I muſt conſider myſelf to you. Accordingly you ſummon me to my ſtudies, whilſt I am playing the truant and prolonging the Saturnalian [a] holy-days.— Tell me now, could I have made you a more ſtiff and aukward compliment, or given a ſtronger proof, that I am ſo far from deſerving to be your inſtructor, that I am not even worthy to be your pupil? However, I will take upon myſelf the character you have inveſted me with, and exert the

[a] Vol. I. p. 113. not. f

the authority you have given me over your book. And with so much the more freedom, as I have nothing to send you of my own in return, upon which you may take your revenge. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. *To* Romanus.

HAVE you ever seen the source of the river [a] Clitumnus? As I never heared you mention it, I imagine not; let me therefore advise you to do so immediately. It is but lately indeed I had that pleasure, and I condemn myself for not having seen it sooner. At the foot of a little hill, covered with venerable and shady cypress trees, a spring issues out, which gushing in different and unequal streams, forms itself, after several windings, into a spacious bason, so extremely clear, that you may see the pebbles, and the little pieces of money which are [b] thrown into it, as they lie at the bot-

 tom.

[a] Now called *Clitumno*: it rises a little below the village of Campello in Ombria. The inhabitants near this river still retain a notion, that its waters are attended with a supernatural property, imagining it makes the cattle white that drink of it: a quality for which it is likewise celebrated by many of the Latin poets. See Addison's Travels.

[b] The heads of considerable rivers, hot springs, large bodies of standing water, &c. were esteemed holy among the Romans, and cultivated with religious ceremonies. *Magnorum fluminum* (says Seneca) *capita reveremur; subita & ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet; coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, & stagna*

tom. From thence it is carried off not ſo much by the declivity of the ground, as by its own ſtrength and fulneſs. It is navigable almoſt as ſoon as it has quitted its ſource, and wide enough to admit a free paſſage for veſſels to paſs by each other, as they ſail with or againſt the ſtream. The current runs ſo ſtrong, tho' the ground is level, that the large barges which go down the river have no occaſion to make uſe of their oars; while thoſe which aſcend, find it difficult to advance, even with the aſſiſtance of oars and poles: and this viciſſitude of labor and eaſe, is exceedingly amuſing when one ſails up and down merely for pleaſure. The banks on each ſide are ſhaded with the verdure of great numbers of aſh and poplar trees, as clearly and diſtinctly ſeen in the ſtream, as if they were actually ſunk in it. The water is cold as ſnow, and as white too. Near it ſtands an antient and venerable temple, wherein is placed the river-god Clitumnus cloathed in a robe, whoſe immediate preſence the prophetic oracles here delivered, ſufficiently teſtify. Several little chapels are ſcatter-ed

ſtagna quædam, vel opacitas, vel immenſa altitudo ſacravat. Ep. 41. It was cuſtomary to throw little pieces of money into thoſe fountains, lakes, &c. which had the reputation of being ſacred, as a mark of veneration for thoſe places, and to render the preſiding deities propitious. Suetonius mentions this practice, in the annual vows which he ſays the Roman people made for the health of Auguſtus. Suet. in vit. Aug.

ed round, dedicated to particular gods distinguished by different names, and some of them too presiding over different fountains. For, besides the principal one, which is, as it were, the parent of all the rest, there are several other lesser streams, which, taking their rise from various sources, lose themselves in the river; over which a bridge is built, that separates the sacred part from that which lies open to common use. Vessels are allowed to come above this bridge, but no person is permitted to swim, [c] except below it. The [d] Hispellates, to whom Augustus gave this place, furnish a public bath, and likewise entertain all strangers, at at their own expence. Several villas, attracted by the beauty of this river, are situated upon its borders. In short, every object that presents itself will afford you entertainment. You may also amuse yourself with numberless inscriptions, that are fixed upon the pillars and walls by different persons, celebrating the virtues of the fountain, and the divinity that presides over it. There are many of them you will greatly admire, as there are some that will make you laugh; but I must cor-

rect

[c] The touch of a naked body was thought to pollute these consecrated waters, as appears from a passage in Tacitus, l. 14. ann. c. 22.

[d] Inhabitants of a town in Ombria, now called Spello.

rect myſelf when I ſay ſo; you are too humane, I know, to laugh upon ſuch an occaſion. Farewel.

LETTER IX. *To* URSUS.

IT is long ſince I have taken either a book, or a pen in my hand. It is long ſince I have known the ſweets of leiſure and repoſe; ſince I have known, in ſhort, that indolent, but agreeable ſituation of doing nothing, and being nothing: ſo much have the affairs of my friends engaged me, and prevented me from enjoying the pleaſures of retirement and contemplation. There is no ſort of ſtudies, however, of conſequence enough to ſuperſede the duty of friendſhip: On the contrary, it is a ſacred tie which they themſelves teach us moſt religiouſly to preſerve. Farewel.

LETTER X. *To* FABATUS.[a]

YOUR concern to hear of my wife's miſcarriage, will be equal, I know, to the earneſt deſire you have that we ſhould make you a great-grand-father. The inexperience of her youth rendered her ignorant that ſhe was breeding; ſo that

[a] His wife's grandfather.

that ſhe not only neglected the proper precautions, but managed herſelf in a way extremely unſuitable to a perſon in her circumſtances. But ſhe has ſeverely attoned for her miſtake, by the utmoſt hazard of her life. Tho' you ſhould (as moſt certainly you will) be afflicted to ſee yourſelf thus diſappointed in your old age, of the immediate hopes of leaving a family behind you; yet it deſerves your gratitude to the Gods, that in the preſervation of your grand-daughter, you have ſtill reaſon to expect that bleſſing: an expectation ſo much the more certain, as ſhe has given this proof, tho' an unhappy one indeed, of her being capable of bearing children. Theſe, at leaſt, are the reflections by which I endeavor to confirm my own hopes, and comfort myſelf under my preſent diſappointment. You cannot more ardently wiſh to have great-grand-children, than I do to have children, as the dignity of both our families ſeems to open to them a ſure road to honors, and we ſhall leave them the glory of deſcending from a long race of anceſtors, whoſe fame is as extenſive as their nobility is antient. May we but have the pleaſure of ſeeing them born, it will make us amends for the preſent diſappointment! Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XI. To HISPULLA.[a]

WHEN I conſider that you love your niece even more tenderly than if ſhe were your own daughter, I ought in the firſt place to inform you of her recovery, before I tell you ſhe has been ill; that the ſentiments of joy at the one, may leave you no leiſure to be afflicted at the other. Tho' I fear indeed, after your firſt tranſports of gratulation are over, you will feel ſome concern, and in the midſt of your joy for the danger ſhe has eſcaped, will tremble at the thought of that which ſhe has undergone. She is now, however, in good ſpirits, and again reſtored to herſelf and to me; as ſhe is making the ſame progreſs in the recovery of her ſtrength and health, that ſhe did in the loſs of them. To ſay the truth, (and I may now ſafely tell it you) ſhe was in the utmoſt hazard of her life; not indeed from any fault of her own, but a little from the inexperience of her youth. To this muſt be imputed the cauſe of her miſcarriage, and the ſad experience ſhe has had of the conſequence of not knowing ſhe was breeding. But tho' this misfortune has deprived you of the conſolation of a nephew, or niece, to ſupply the loſs of your brother; you muſt remember that bleſſing

[a] His wife's aunt.

blessing seems rather to be deferred than denied, since her life is preserved from whom that happiness is to be expected. I intreat you then to represent this accident to your [a] father in the most favorable light, as your sex are the best advocates in cases of this kind. Farewel.

LETTER XII. *To* MINUTIANUS.

I Beg you would excuse me this one day: Titinius Capito is to recite a performance of his, and I know not whether it is most my inclination, or my duty to attend him. He is a man of a most amiable disposition, and justly to be numbered among the brightest ornaments of our age: He studiously cultivates the polite arts himself, and generously admires and encourages them in others. To several who have distinguished themselves by their compositions, he has been the defence, the refuge, and the reward; as he affords a glorious model and example to all in general. In a word, he is the restorer and reformer of learning, now alas! well nigh grown obsolete and decayed. His house is open to every man of genius who has any works to rehearse; and it is not there alone that he attends these assemblies with the most obliging good

[a] Fabatus, grandfather to Calphurnia, Pliny's wife.

good nature. I am ſure at leaſt he never once excuſed himſelf from mine, if he happened to be at Rome. I ſhould therefore with a more than ordinary ill grace refuſe to return him the ſame favor, as the occaſion of doing it is peculiarly glorious. Should not I think myſelf obliged to a man, who, if I were engaged in any law-ſuit, generouſly attended the cauſe in which I was intereſted? And am I leſs indebted, now that my whole care and buſineſs is of the literary kind, for his aſſiduity in my concerns of this ſort? A point which, if not the only, is however the principal inſtance wherein I can be obliged. But tho' I owed him no return of this nature; tho' I were not engaged to him by the reciprocal tie of the ſame good offices he has done me; yet not only the beauty of his extenſive genius, as polite as it is ſeverely correct, but the dignity of his ſubject, would ſtrongly incite me to be of his audience. He has written an account of the deaths of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, ſome of which were my particular friends. It is a pious office then, it ſhould ſeem, as I could not be preſent at their obſequies, to attend, at leaſt, this (as I may call it) their funeral oration; which tho' a late, is however for that reaſon, a more unſuſpected tribute to their memories. Farewel.

THE

LETTER XIII. *To* GENIALIS.

I Much approve of your having read my orations with your father. It is highly for your advantage to learn from a man of his eloquence, what to admire in compoſitions of this kind, and what to condemn; as you will at the ſame time be trained up in an habitual cuſtom of ſpeaking your real ſentiments. You ſee whoſe ſteps it is you ought to follow; and happy are you in having a living example before you, which is at once the neareſt and the nobleſt model you can purſue! In a word, that he whom nature deſigned you ſhould moſt reſemble, is, of all others, the perſon whom you ſhould moſt imitate. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* ARISTO.

AS you are no leſs acquainted with the political laws of your country, (which include the cuſtoms and uſages of the ſenate) than with the civil, I am particularly deſirous to have your opinion, whether I was miſtaken in an affair which lately came before the houſe. This I requeſt, not with a view of being directed in my judgment as to what is paſſed, (for that is now too late) but in order to know

how

how to conduct myſelf, if any caſe of the ſame nature ſhould hereafter ariſe. You will aſk, perhaps, why I apply to you for information concerning a point, wherein I ought to be well inſtructed? But the tyranny of [a] former reigns, as it introduced a neglect and ignorance of all other parts of uſeful knowledge, ſo particularly of what relates to the cuſtoms of the ſenate; for who is there ſo tamely induſtrious as to deſire to learn, what he can never have an opportunity of putting in practice? Beſides, it is not very eaſy to retain even the knowledge one has acquired, where no occaſion of exerciſing it occurs. Hence it was, that Liberty, at her [b] return, found us in the utmoſt ignorance and inexperience; and thus in the warmth of our eagerneſs to taſte the ſweets, we are ſometimes hurried on to action, ere we are well informed in what manner we ought to act. But by the inſtitution of our anceſtors it was wiſely provided, that the young ſhould learn from the old, not only by precept, but by their own obſervation, how to behave in that ſphere, wherein they were one day themſelves to move; as theſe, in their turn, tranſmitted the ſame method of inſtruction to their children. Upon this principle it was, that the

[a] Thoſe of Nero and Domitian.
[b] When Nerva and Trajan received the empire.

the youth were ſent early into the army, that by being taught to obey, they might learn to command, and whilſt they followed others, might be trained up by degrees to be leaders themſelves. And thus, when they were candidates for any office, they were obliged to ſtand at the entrance of the ſenate, that they might be ſpectators, before they were admitted parties in the public council of the empire. The father of each youth was his inſtructor upon theſe occaſions, or if he had none, ſome perſon of years and dignity ſupplied the place of a father. Thus they were taught by that ſureſt method of diſcipline, Example, how far the right of propoſing any law to the ſenate extended; what privileges a ſenator had in delivering his opinion in the houſe; the power of the magiſtrates in that aſſembly, and the rights of the reſt of the members; where it is proper to yield, and where to inſiſt; when and how long to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent; how to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate contrary opinions [a], and how to improve upon a former motion: in a word, they learnt by this means, whatever relates to the conduct of a man as

[a] If any opinion propoſed to the Senate, was thought too general, and to include ſeveral diſtinct articles, ſome of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was uſual to require that it might be divided; and this they ſometimes did by a general voice of the aſſembly, crying out *divide, divide.* Middlet. Treat. on the Roman Senate, 137.

a member of the ſenate. As for myſelf, it is true indeed, I ſerved in the army when I was a youth; but it was at a time when courage was ſuſpected, and cowardice honored; when the generals were without authority, and the ſoldiers without modeſty; when there were neither diſcipline nor obedience, but all was riot, diſorder and confuſion; in ſhort, when it was happier to forget, than remember what one learnt. I attended likewiſe in my youth the ſenate, but a ſenate that was mute and diſpirited; where it was dangerous to ſpeak one's ſentiments, and infamous to be ſilent. What ſatisfaction in learning, or indeed what could be learnt, when the ſenate ſate in the utmoſt indolence, or acted with the higheſt infamy! when they were convened either for cruel or ridiculous purpoſes [a]; and when their deliberations were never ſeri-

[a] The fourth ſatire of Juvenal will ſerve as a comment upon this paſſage, where he acquaints us that a turbet of a moſt enormous ſize being brought to Domitian, he immediately convened the ſenate, in order to conſult in what manner it ſhould be dreſſed. The poet mentions the names of the perſons who ſpoke in this remarkable debate, and their ſeveral opinions upon a queſtion ſo important, concluding his ſatire with this pathetic wiſh:

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet
Tempora ſævitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit urbi
Illuſtreſque animas impune!—— Sat. 4.

Ah! as this day, that he had ſpent the reſt,
And his dire reign had only been a jeſt!
Nor Rome her nobleſt blood had tamely ſeen
Flow unreveng'd!——

ferious, tho' often fad. But I was not only a witnefs to this fcene of wretchednefs, as a fpectator; I bore my fhare of it too as a fenator, and both faw and fuffered under it for many years; which fo broke and damped my fpirits, that they have not even yet been able fully to recover themfelves. It is but a fhort time (and it feems fo much the fhorter in proportion to its happinefs) fince we could take any pleafure in knowing what relates to, or in exercifing the duties of our ftation. Upon thefe confiderations therefore, I may reafonably entreat you, in the firft place to pardon my error, (if I have been guilty of one) and in the next, to guide me out of it by your fuperior knowledge: for I am fenfible you have ever been curious to examine into the conftitution of your country, both with refpect to its public and private, its ancient and modern, its general and particular laws. I am perfuaded indeed the point upon which I am going to confult you, is fo unufual, that even thofe whofe great experience in public bufinefs, muft have made them, one fhould imagine, acquainted with every thing of this nature, were either not thoroughly apprized, or abfolutely ignorant of it. I fhall be more excufable, therefore, if I happen to have been miftaken; as you will gain fo much the higher applaufe, if you can

ſet me right in an affair, which it is not clear has ever yet fallen within your obſervation. The enquiry then before the houſe was, concerning the death of Afranius Dexter, who being found murdered, it was uncertain whether he fell by his own hands, or by thoſe of his freedmen; and if the latter, whether they committed the fact in [b] obedience to the commands of Afranius, or were prompted to it by their own villainy. After they had been put to the queſtion, a certain ſenator, (it is of no importance to mention his name, but if you are deſirous to know, it was myſelf) was for acquitting them; another propoſed that they ſhould be baniſhed for a limited time; and a third that they ſhould be put to death. Theſe ſeveral opinions were ſo extremely oppoſite, that it was impoſſible either of them could ſtand with the other, and therefore in taking the voices, I thought they ought to be numbered ſeparately. For what is there in common between the ſentiments of thoſe who thought the accuſed deſerved baniſhment, and thoſe who were of opinion they merited death? Nothing more, in truth, than there is between thoſe who voted

[b] Thoſe who deſtroyed themſelves, frequently made uſe of the hands of their ſervants for that purpoſe. Thus Brutus and Caſſius, after the loſs of that fatal battle which decided the liberties of Rome, ran each of them upon the ſwords of their attendants. Florus, l. 4. c. 7.

voted for baniſhment, and the others who were for acquitting the priſoners. Tho' indeed he who was for diſcharging them, approached nearer to the ſentiments of him who propoſed exile, than the other who moved that they ſhould ſuffer death: for both the former agreed at leaſt in this, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, whereas the latter were for a capital conviction. In the mean while, thoſe ſenators who were for puniſhing with death, and thoſe who propoſed baniſhment, ſate together on the ſame ſide of the houſe: and thus by a preſent appearance of union, ſuſpended their real diſagreement. I moved therefore, that each of the three opinions ſhould be ſeparately counted, and that two of them ſhould not, under favor of a ſhort truce between themſelves, join againſt the third. I inſiſted that ſuch of the members who were for capital puniſhment, ſhould divide from the others who voted for baniſhment; and that theſe two diſtinct parties ſhould not be permitted to form themſelves into a body, in oppoſition to thoſe who declared for acquittal, when they would immediately after diſunite again: for it was not material that they agreed in diſliking one propoſal, ſince they differed with reſpect to the other two. It ſeemed very extraordinary, that he who moved the freedmen ſhould be baniſhed, and the ſlaves ſuffer death,

ſhould not be allowed to join theſe two in one mo-tion, but that the queſtion ſhould be ordered to be put to the houſe in the disjunctive; and yet that the votes of thoſe who were for inflicting capital puniſhment upon the freedmen, ſhould be taken together with thoſe who were for baniſhing them. For if in the former inſtance, it was reaſonable that the motion ſhould be divided, becauſe it comprehended two diſtinct things; I could not ſee why in the latter caſe, ſuffrages ſo extremely different ſhould be thrown into the ſame ſcale. Permit me then, notwithſtanding the point is determined, to go over it again as if it were ſtill undecided, and to lay before you thoſe reaſons at my eaſe, which I offered to the houſe in the midſt of much interruption and clamor. Let us ſuppoſe there had been only three judges appointed to hear this cauſe, one of which was of opinion that the parties in queſtion deſerved death; the other that they ſhould only be baniſhed; and the third that they ought to be acquitted: ſhould the two former unite their ſtrength to the deſtruction of the latter? or ſhould each of them ſeparately be balanced? For the firſt and ſecond are no more compatible than the ſecond and third. They ought therefore in the ſame manner to be counted in the ſenate as con-

trary,

trary, ſince they were delivered as different opinions. Suppoſe the ſame perſon had moved, that they ſhould both have been baniſhed and put to death; could they poſſibly, in purſuance of this opinion, have ſuffered both puniſhments? Or could it have been eſteemed as one conſiſtent motion, when it united two ſuch different things? Why then ſhould the ſame opinion, when delivered by diſtinct perſons, be conſidered as one and entire, which would not be deemed ſo if it were propoſed by a ſingle perſon? Does not the law manifeſtly imply, that a diſtinction is to be made between thoſe who are for a capital conviction, and thoſe who are for baniſhment, in the very form of words made uſe of when the houſe is ordered to divide? *You who are of ſuch an opinion, come to this ſide; you who are of any other, go over to the ſide of him whoſe opinion you follow.* Let us examine this form, and weigh every ſentence: *You who are of this opinion:* that is for inſtance, you who are for baniſhment, *come on this ſide*; namely, on the ſide of him who moved for baniſhment. From whence it is clear he cannot remain on the ſide of thoſe who are for death. *You who are for any other:* obſerve, the law is not contented with barely ſaying another, but ſhe adds *any*. Now

can there be a doubt, whether they who declare for a capital conviction are of *any* other opinion, than those who propose exile! *Go over to the side of him whose opinion you follow:* does not the law seem, as it were, to force those who are of different sentiments, to contrary sides? Does not the Consul himself point out, not only by this solemn form of words, but by his hand and gesture, the place in which every man is to remain, or to which he is to go over? "But, it is objected, if "this separation is made between those who vote "for inflicting death, and those who are on the "side of exile, the opinion for acquitting the "prisoners must necessarily prevail." But how does that affect the parties who vote? Certainly it becomes not them to contend by every art, and urge every expedient, that the milder sentence may not take place. "Still, say they, those who "are for condemning the accused either capitally "or to banishment, should be first set in opposition to those who are for absolving them, and "afterwards weighed against each other." Thus as in certain public games, some are by lot to engage with the conqueror; so, it seems, in the senate there is a first and second combat, and of two different sentiments, the prevailing one has still a third to contend with. What? when any particu-

lar opinion is received, do not all the reſt fall of courſe? Is it reaſonable then, that one ſhould be thrown into the ſcale merely to weigh down another? To expreſs my meaning more plainly: unleſs the two parties, who are for capital puniſhment and exile, immediately ſeparate upon the firſt diviſion of the houſe, it would be to no purpoſe afterwards to diſſent from thoſe with whom they joined before.---But I am dictating inſtead of receiving inſtruction. Tell me then whether you think theſe votes ſhould have been taken ſeparately? My ſentiments, 'tis true, prevailed, nevertheleſs I am deſirous to know whether you think I ought to have inſiſted upon this point, or have yielded as that member did who declared for capital puniſhment? For convinced, I will not ſay of the legality, however of the equity of my propoſal, he receeded from his own opinion, and went over to the party for exile: fearing perhaps, if the votes were taken ſeparately (which he ſaw would be the caſe) the freedmen would be acquitted: For the numbers were far greater on that ſide than on either of the other two, ſeparately counted. The conſequence was, that thoſe who had been influenced by his authority, when they ſaw themſelves forſaken by his going over to the other party, gave up a motion which they found abandoned

doned by the firſt author, and deſerted, as it were, with their leader. Thus the three opinions were reſolved at length into two; and of thoſe two, one prevailed, and the other was rejected; while the third, as it was not powerful enough to conquer both the others, had only to chooſe to which of the two it would yield. Farewel.

LETTER XV. To Junior.

I DOUBT I have over-burthened you by ſending ſo many volumes at once: But if I have, remember you required them of me. Beſides, as you wrote me word you were likely to reap but little from the fruits of your vineyards, I imagined you would be at leiſure to *reap* (as we ſay) the *fruits* of learning. I have received the ſame bad accounts of my own little farms; and am myſelf therefore at full leiſure to write books for you, provided I can but raiſe money enough to furniſh me with good paper. For ſhould I be reduced to the coarſe and ſpungy ſort, either I muſt not write at all, or whatever I compoſe, whether good or bad, muſt neceſſarily undergo one cruel blot! Farewel.

LETTER XVI. *To* PATERNUS.

THE ſickneſs which has lately run thro' my family, and carried off ſeveral of my domeſtics, ſome of them too in the prime of their years, has deeply afflicted me. I have two conſolations, however, which tho' they are not equal to ſo conſiderable a grief, ſtill they are conſolations. One is, that as I have always very readily manumized my ſlaves, their death does not ſeem altogether immature, if they lived long enough to receive their freedom: the other, that I have allowed them to make a kind of will,[a] which I obſerve as religiouſly as if they were legally entitled to that privilege. I receive and obey their laſt requeſts, as ſo many authoritative commands, ſuffering them to diſpoſe of their effects to whom they pleaſe; with this ſingle reſtriction, that they leave them to ſome in my family, which to perſons in their ſtation is to be eſteemed as a ſort of common-wealth. But tho' I endeavor to acquieſce under theſe reflections, yet the ſame tenderneſs which led me to ſhew them theſe indulgences, ſtill breaks out and over-powers my ſtrongeſt reſolutions.

[a] A ſlave could acquire no property, and conſequently was incapable by law of making a will.

ſolutions. However, I could not wiſh to be inſenſible to theſe ſoft impreſſions of humanity: tho' the generality of the world, I know, look upon loſſes of this kind in no other view, than as a diminution of their property, and fancy by cheriſhing ſuch an unfeeling temper, they diſcover a ſuperior fortitude and good ſenſe. Their wiſdom and magnanimity I ſhall not diſpute. But manly, I am ſure, they are not; for it is the very criterion of true manhood to *feel* thoſe impreſſions of ſorrow, which it endeavors to reſiſt; and to admit, not to be above the want of conſolation. But perhaps I have detained you too long upon this ſubject,---tho' not ſo long as I would. There is a certain pleaſure in giving vent to one's grief; eſpecially when we pour out our ſorrow in the boſom of a friend, who will approve, or at leaſt, pardon our tears. [a] Farewel.

LET-

[a] There is ſomething ſo uncommonly amiable in this *Family Piece*, that the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with being ſtopped a moment to take a ſecond view of it. If nothing remained of Pliny, but this ſingle *Trait* of his character, we might nevertheleſs aſſuredly pronounce of him, that he was ennobled by every ſocial virtue: for as it is certain the greateſt minds have ever been moſt open to impreſſions of the humane kind; ſo every moral virtue neceſſarily flows from benevolence, as from its true and genuine ſource. It is impoſſible a man who has a juſt feeling of the calamities of others, can deliberately break thro' the moral ties of any kind; becauſe it is certain he cannot do ſo, without being the occaſion of ſuffering to thoſe who ſtand within the influence of the particular action. This prin-

LETTER XVII. To MACRINUS.

IS the ſeaſon with you as rude and boiſterous as it is with us? All here is tempeſt and inundation. The Tiber has ſwelled its channel, and overflowed its banks far and wide. Tho' the wiſe precaution of the emperor had guarded againſt this evil, by cutting ſeveral outlets to the river; it has nevertheleſs flooded all the fields and valleys, and entirely overſpread the whole face of the flat country. It ſeems to have gone out to meet thoſe rivers which it uſed to receive and carry off in one inter-

principle alſo will ever afford the moſt unerring teſt of patriotiſm, or the public affections; for the cruel and unrelenting in private and domeſtic life, can never act upon the true notion of liberty, in the more enlarged relations of public concerns. With great juſtice therefore our author makes this generous principle the evidence of real manhood; as Juvenal deſcribes a tenderneſs of diſpoſition to be the principal note of diſtinction, which nature has marked out between the rational and brute creation:

——— ———*Molliſſima corda*
Humano generi dare ſe natura fatetur,
Quæ lachrymas dedit. Hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſus.
——— ——— *Quis enim bonus,---*
Ulla aliena ſibi credat mala? ſeparat hoc
Nos a grege mutorum——— ——— Satyr. 15. 131.

Heaven gave the tear humane, a ſign confeſt,
Soft pity dwells within the mortal breaſt;
That nobleſt paſſion nobleſt boſoms know! ———
Turn'd ever virtue from another's woe?
'Tis man's great privilege, the glorious line
That marks from brute, the human ſoul divine.

intermingled ſtream; and has driven them back to deluge thoſe countries, it could not reach itſelf. That moſt delightful of rivers, the [h] Anio, which ſeems invited and detained in its courſe by the charming villas that are ſituated upon its banks, has almoſt entirely rooted up and carried away the woods which ſhaded its borders. It has overthrown whole mountains, and in endeavoring to find a paſſage thro' the ruins that obſtructed its way, has forced down houſes, and riſes over the deſolation it has occaſioned. The inhabitants of the hill countries, who are ſituated above the reach of this inundation, have been the melancholy ſpectators of its dreadful effects, having ſeen coſtly furniture, inſtruments of huſbandry, ploughs, and oxen with their drivers, whole herds of cattle, together with the trunks of trees, and beams of the neighboring villas, floating about in different parts.

h Now called the *Teverone*, which falls into the Tiber about three miles from *Rome*. The eloquent Balzac, ſpeaking of a little river, has a thought which is celebrated by Bohours: * *Cette belle eau* (ſays he) *aime tellement ce pais, qu'elle ſe diviſe en mille branches, & fait une infinité d' iſles & de tours, a fin de s'y amuſer davantage.* But he is indebted to Pliny for all the merit of it, as it is plainly a copy from this paſſage: an obſervation by no means intended as a reflection upon the French writer, who has too many original beauties of his own, to ſuffer from a diſcovery of thoſe which are not: it is deſigned only to ſhew, that the moſt celebrated author in the epiſtolary way among the moderns, found advantage in converſing with Pliny.

* *Dial. ſur le man. de bien penſ. p.* 137.

parts. Nor indeed have theſe higher places themſelves, to which the waters could not riſe, eſcaped the calamity. A continued heavy rain as deſtructive as the river itſelf, poured down in torrents upon them, and has deſtroyed all the encloſures which divided that fertile country. It has damaged likewiſe, and even overturned ſome of the public buildings, where numbers have been miſerably buried in the ruins. And thus thoſe people, beſides the loſs of their effects, have ſuffered the additional misfortune of lamenting their friends. I am extremely uneaſy leſt this extenſive ruin ſhould have ſpread to you: I beg therefore, if it has not, you will immediately eaſe me of my fears. And indeed I deſire you would inform me tho' it ſhould; for the difference is not great between fearing a danger, and feeling it; except that the evil one feels has ſome bounds, whereas one's apprehenſions have none. For we can ſuffer no more than what actually *has*, but we fear all that poſſibly *may* have happened. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. *To* RUFINUS.

IT is a miſtaken maxim which is generally advanced, that a man's will is a kind of mirror wherein one may cleearly ſee his genuine character. We have a late inſtance to the contrary in Domitius Tullus, who appears a much better man ſince his death, than during his life. After having artfully encouraged the expectations of thoſe who paid court to him, with a view to being his heir, he has left his eſtate to his niece whom he adopted. He has given likewiſe ſeveral very conſiderable legacies among his grand-children, and alſo to his great grand-ſon. In a word, he has ſhewn himſelf a kind relation throughout his whole will; which is ſo much the more to be admired, as it was not expected of him. This affair has been much the ſubject of converſation: ſome repreſent him as guilty of the baſeſt falſhood and ingratitude; and while they thus complain of him as if they were actually diſinherited kindred, their invectives betray their own diſhoneſt deſigns: others on the contrary, applaud him extremely for having diſappointed the hopes of this infamous [a] tribe of men, whom conſidering the manners of the age, it is but prudence to deceive. They add farther, that he

[a] See Vol. I. p. 219. note [a]

he was not at liberty to make any other will, and that he cannot ſo properly ſaid to have left, as returned, his eſtate to his adopted daughter, ſince it was by her means it came to him. For Curtilius Mancia, whoſe daughter Damitius Lucanus, brother to this Tullus, married, having taken a diſlike to his ſon-in-law, deviſed his eſtate to this young lady, (who was the iſſue of that marriage,) upon condition that Lucanus her father would [b] emancipate her. He accordingly did ſo, but ſhe being afterwards adopted by Tullus her uncle, the deſign of Mancia's will was entirely fruſtrated. For theſe two brothers having never divided their patrimony, but living together as joint-tenants of one common eſtate, the daughter of Lucanus, notwithſtanding the act of emancipation, returned back again, together with her fortune, under the dominion of her father, by means of this frau-

[b] That is, would make her free: for (as has been obſerved in the notes above) the power of a father over his children, was unlimited amongſt the Romans. It extended not only to their fortunes, but their lives, and was even greater than what the laws allowed over their ſlaves; for if a maſter ſold his ſlave, who afterwards obtained his freedom, the former owner had no farther claim; whereas, in the caſe of a ſon, the father's right was not abſolutely exſtinguiſhed by ſelling him, but if the ſon obtained his freedom, he again came under his dominion. And this authority could not be wholly diſannulled till the ſon had been thrice ſold, and as often recovered his liberty, and then it entirely ceaſed. The law veſted the ſame power likewiſe as fully in the adoptive father, as in the natural. Juſtinian obſerves this authority was peculiar to the Romans, and followed by no other nation whatſoever. Inſt. l. 1.

fraudulent adoption. It ſeems indeed, to have been the fate of theſe two brothers, to be enriched by thoſe who had the greateſt averſion to them. For Domitius Afer, by whom they were adopted, left a will in their favor, which he had made eighteen years before his death; tho' it was plain he had altered his ſentiments with reſpect to the family, becauſe he was inſtrumental in procuring the confiſcation of their father's eſtate. There is ſomething, in truth, extremely ſingular in the reſentment of Afer, and the good fortune of the other two; as it was very extraordinary on one hand, that Domitius ſhould endeavour to extirpate from the privileges of ſociety, a man, whoſe children he had adopted, and on the other, that theſe brothers ſhould find a parent in the very perſon that ruined their father. But it was highly juſt in Tullus, after having been appointed ſole heir by his brother, in prejudice to his own daughter, to make her amends by giving her this eſtate which came to him from Afer, as well as all the reſt which he poſſeſſed in common with his brother. His will therefore deſerves the higheſt applauſe, as it is the dictates of nature, juſtice and honor; wherein he has returned his obligations to his ſeveral relations, according to their reſpective good offices towards him. He has made a juſt acknowledgment likewiſe to his wife, hav-

ing

ing bequeathed to that excellent woman, who patiently endured much upon his account, ſeveral delightful villas, beſides a large ſum of money. And indeed, ſhe deſerved ſo much the more at his hands, as ſhe was highly cenſured for her marriage with him. It was thought unworthy a perſon of her rank and merit, after having had a former huſband by whom ſhe had iſſue, to marry, in the decline of her life, an old man, merely for his riches, who was ſo ſickly and infirm, that even tho' he had paſs'd the beſt years of his youth and health with her, ſhe might well have been weary of him. He had ſo entirely loſt the uſe of all his limbs, that he could not move himſelf in bed without aſſiſtance; and all the enjoyment he had of his riches, was only to contemplate them. He was even reduced to the wretched neceſſity (which indeed one cannot mention without loathing as well as lamenting) of having his teeth waſhed and cleanſed by others: and he uſed frequently to ſay, when he was complaining of the indecencies which his infirmities obliged him to ſuffer, that he was every day forced to take his ſervant's fingers into his mouth. Still, however, he lived, and was willing to accept of life upon theſe terms; the preſervation of which was particularly owing to the care of his wife, who, whatever reputation ſhe might loſe at firſt

by her marriage, acquired great honor by her after-conduct towards him.—Thus I have given you all the news of the town, where nothing is talked of but Tullus. It is expected his curiosities will shortly be sold by auction. He had such vast numbers of fine statues, which stood neglected in a lumber-room, that he actually filled a large garden with them, the very same day he purchased it.—If you have any thing worth communicating in return, I hope you will not refuse the trouble of writing to me: not only as we are all naturally fond of news, but because example has a very beneficial influence upon our own conduct. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To Maximus.

My studies prove both an entertainment and consolation to me: and as there is no pleasure I prefer to them, so there is no uneasiness they do not alleviate. In this season therefore of dejection, occasioned by the indisposition of my wife, the dangerous sickness of some of my servants, and the death of others, I fly to my books, those sovereign composers of my grief. It is true, indeed, they teach me a greater sensibility to misfortunes, but they teach me too how to bear them with more patience. It is an establish-

ed

ed rule with me, before I publiſh any of my productions, to take the judgment of my friends upon them, eſpecially yours. I beg therefore you would examine the performance I here ſend you, with particular care, as I am afraid, the diſquietude of my mind may have prevented me from giving it the attention I ought. For tho' I could command myſelf ſo far as to ſit down to write, I was not maſter enough of my heart, to do ſo with eaſe and chearfulneſs: but if ſtudy throws the mind into a pleaſing ſtate of ſerenity, a ſtate of ſerenity is neceſſary to throw a grace upon our ſtudies. Farewel.

LETTER XX. *To* Gallus.

THOSE works of art or nature which are uſually the motives of our travels, are often overlooked and neglected if they lie within our reach: whether it be that we are naturally leſs inquiſitive concerning thoſe things which are near us, while we are puſhed forward in purſuit of remote objects; or becauſe the eaſineſs of gratifying a deſire, is always ſure to damp it; or, perhaps, that we defer from time to time viewing, what we know we have an opportunity of ſeeing when we pleaſe. Whatever the reaſon be, it is certain there are ſeveral rarities in and near Rome,

which we have not only never ſeen, but even never ſo much as hear'd of: and yet if they had been the produce of Greece, or Egypt, or Aſia, or any other country which we admire as fruitful in wonders, they would long ſince have been the ſubject both of our converſation and inſpection. For myſelf at leaſt, I confeſs, I have lately been entertained with one of theſe curioſities, to which I was an entire ſtranger before. My wife's grandfather deſired I would look upon his eſtate near [a] Ameria. As I was walking over his grounds, I was ſhewn a lake that lies below them, called [b] Vadimon, which I was informed had ſeveral very extraordinaray qualities attending it. Thus raiſed my curioſity to take a nearer view. It is formed exactly circular; there is not the leaſt obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The color of its water is clearer than that of the ſea, tho' of a deeper green; it ſeems by its taſte and ſmell impregnated with ſulphur, and is eſteemed of great efficacy in all fractures of the limbs, which it is ſuppoſed to conſolidate. Tho' it is but of a moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No veſſels are ſuffered to ſail here, as

a Now called Amelia, an epiſcopal city in Ombria.
b Now called *Lago di Baſſanello*.

as its waters are held [c] ſacred; but ſeveral floating [d] iſlands ſwim about it, covered with reeds and ruſhes, and whatever other plants the neighboring marſh and the borders of the lake produce. Theſe iſlands differ in their ſize and ſhape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent colliſion againſt the ſhore and one another. They have equally the ſame height and motion; as their reſpective roots, which are formed like the keel of a boat, may be ſeen hanging down in the water, on whichever ſide you ſtand. Sometimes they move in a cluſter, and ſeem to form one entire little continent; ſometimes they are diſperſed into different quarters by the winds; at other times when it is calm, they float up and down ſeparately. You may frequently ſee one of the larger iſlands ſailing along with a leſſer joined to it, like a ſhip with its long-boat; or perhaps, ſeeming to ſtrive which ſhall out-ſwim the other: then again they all

[c] See above, note [b] Let. 8. of this book.

[d] The credit of this account does not reſt entirely upon our author: Pliny the elder mentions theſe floating iſlands, [l. 2. 95.] and ſo does Seneca, who accounts for them upon philoſophical principles. [Q. N. l. 3. 25.] Varenius ſays, that in Honduras, a province in America, there is a lake in which are ſeveral little hills planted with ſhrubs, &c. toſſed up and down by the winds. And he quotes Boethius the Scots hiſtrian, who affirms that in a large *Loch*, called *Lomond Loch*, in Scotland, there is a floating iſland, upon which cattle graze. See Varen. Geogr. vol. I. p. 412.

aſſemble in one ſtation, and by joining themſelves to the ſhore, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other, make the lake appear conſiderably leſs, till at laſt uniting in the center they reſtore it to its uſual ſize. The ſheep which graze upon the borders of this lake, frequently go upon theſe iſlands to feed, without perceiving that they have left the ſhore, 'till they are alarmed by finding themſelves ſurrounded with water; and in the ſame manner when the wind drives them back again, they return without being ſenſible that they are landed. This lake empties itſelf into a river, which after running a little way ſinks under ground, and if any thing is thrown in brings it up again where the ſtream emerges.—I have given you this account, becauſe I imagined it would not be leſs new, nor leſs agreeable to you than it was to me; as I know you take the ſame pleaſure as myſelf, in contemplating the works of nature. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. *To* Arrianus.

NOTHING, in my opinion, gives a more amiable and becoming grace to our ſtudies, as well as our manners, than to temper gravity with gaiety, leſt the former ſhould degenerate into auſtereneſs, and the latter run up into levity. Upon this maxim it is, that I diverſify my more ſerious works with compoſitions of a lighter nature. I had choſen a convenient place and ſeaſon for ſome productions of that ſort to make their appearance in; and deſigning to accuſtom them early to the tables of the idle, I fixed upon the month of July, [a] when the courts of juſtice are as uſually ſhut

[a] The months of July and Auguſt was a time of vacation to the Roman lawyers, the courts of juſtice being then ſhut up, that the farmers might not be interrupted in their harveſt, by being obliged to attend their law-ſuits at Rome.

———— ——meſſeſq; reverſæ
Dimiſere Forum; nec jam tibi turba reorum
Veſtibulo, quereliq; rogant exire clientes;
Ceſſat centeni moderatrix judicis haſta.

Satius Syl. l. 4. 50.

Returning harveſt bids contention ceaſe,
And thro' the wrangling Forum all is peace;
No teazing clients now beſiege thy way,
Nor judges ſage the ſolemn ſpear diſplay.

However, the courts, as appears from this letter, were ſometimes opened during this ſeaſon of vacation, upon caſes, perhaps, of particular emergency.

ſhut up, in order to read them to ſome of my friends at ſupper; and accordingly I placed a deſk before each of my gueſts. But as I happened that morning to be unexpectedly called away to attend a cauſe, I took occaſion to preface my recital with an apology. I intreated my audience not to impute it to me as any want of due regard for the buſineſs to which I had invited them, that on the very day I had appropriated to read my performances to ſome of my friends, (tho' indeed but few) I did not abſtain from ſerving others in the affairs of the bar. I aſſured them I would obſerve the ſame rule in my writings, and ſhould always give the preference to points of importance, before thoſe of entertainment; to ſerious ſubjects, before gay ones; and to my friends before myſelf. The poems I recited conſiſted of a variety of ſubjects, in different meaſures. It is by ſuch arts as theſe, we who dare not rely upon the ſingle force of our genius, endeavor to avoid giving our readers a ſatiety. In compliance with the earneſt ſolicitation of my audience, I recited for two days ſucceſſively; but not in the manner that ſeveral practiſe, by paſſing over the leſs ſhining paſſages, and making a merit of ſo doing: on the contrary, I omitted nothing, and freely owned that I did not. I

read

read the whole, that I might correct the whole; which it is impossible those who only select particular passages, should do. The latter method, indeed, may have the more appearance of modesty, and perhaps respect; but the former shews greater simplicity, as well as more affection towards the audience. For the belief that a man's friends have so much regard to him, as not to be weary upon these occasions, is a sure indication of his own love for them. To say the truth, one has little obligation to an audience, if they assemble merely with a view to their own entertainment. He who had rather find his friend's performance correct, then make it so, is to be considered as a stranger, or one who is too indolent to give himself any trouble. Your affection for me leaves me no room to doubt, that you are impatient to read my book; which is yet, however, not ripe for your perusal. You shall do so, when I have corrected it; which was indeed the design of my recital. You are already acquainted with some parts of it; but even those, after they have been polished (or perhaps spoiled, as is sometimes the case by too frequent corrections) will seem new to you. For when a composition has undergone various changes, it

contracts

contracts an air of novelty even in those parts which remain unaltered Farewel.

LETTER XXII. *To* Geminius.

HAVE you never observed a sort of people, who tho' they are themselves under the abject dominion of every vice, shew a kind of malicious resentment against the errors of others; and are most severe upon those whom they most resemble? yet, surely a lenity of disposition, even in persons who have the least occasion for clemency themselves, is of all other virtues the most becoming. The highest of all characters, in my estimation, is his, who is as ready to pardon the errors of mankind, as if he were every day guilty of some himself; and at the same time as cautious of committing a fault, as if he never forgave one. It is a rule then which we should upon all occasions, both private and public, most religiously observe, "to be inexorable to our own failings, "while we treat those of the rest of the world "with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves;" remembering always what the humane, and, *therefore*, as well as upon other accounts, the *great* Thrasea used frequently

quently to ſay : [a] *He who hates vice, hates mankind.* You will aſk me, perhaps, who it is that has given occaſion to theſe reflections? You muſt know a certain perſon lately—but of that when we meet—tho', upon ſecond thoughts, not even then, leſt whilſt I condemn and expoſe *his* conduct, I ſhould act counter to that maxim I particularly recommend. Whoever therefore, and whatever he is, ſhall remain in ſilence: for tho' there may be ſome uſe, perhaps, in ſetting a mark upon the man, for the ſake of example; there will be more, however, in ſparing him, for the ſake of humanity. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. *To* MARCELLINUS.

THE deep concern I am under for the death of Junius Avitus, has rendered me incapable of buſineſs, ſtudy or amuſement. He was inveſted with the [b] laticlave in my houſe; as in all the

[a] The meaning of this maxim ſeems to be, that, as it is extremely difficult to ſeparate the action from the man, we ſhould not ſuffer the errors of the world to raiſe in us that acrimony of indignation, which if well examined, perhaps, will be oftener found to proceed from ſome ſecret principle of malice, than a juſt abhorrence of vice; *Satius eſt* (as Seneca obſerves) *publicos mores & humana vitia, placide accipere:* a general philanthropy and univerſal benevolence being the moſt genuine marks, by which virtue diſtinguiſhes thoſe who are truly in her intereſt. If this ſenſe is admitted, there will be no need to ſuppoſe, (as ſome of the commentators have) that any miſtake is crept into the text.

[b] See p. 82. note a

the honors he solicited, he was constantly assisted by my interest. I will add too, his affection and esteem for me were so great, that he formed his manners, and regulated his conduct by my guidance and direction: a disposition extremely uncommon in the youth of this age; for who among them will deign to submit to the experience and authority of their superiors? They think themselves at once in full possession of all wisdom and knowledge; and without revering or imitating the virtues of any, imagine they are a sufficient example to themselves. But Avitus was of a far different turn; he shewed his wisdom, in believing there were some who had more; and discovered his knowledge, in his desire to learn. He was ever consulting his friends upon some point relating to his studies, or his conduct; and he always returned from them with advantage, either by the advice he received, or the disposition he shewed. With what respect did he treat Servianus, one of the most accomplished men of the age? Avitus knew how to value such uncommon merit, as well as to endear himself to him in his turn. Accordingly when Servianus went lieutenant from Germany into [a] Pannonia, he attended him as Tribune; not so much in the character of his fellow officer, as of his friend and admirer.

[a] A very extensive province, comprehending part of Austria, Hungary, *&c.*

admirer. With what care and integrity did he execute the office of Quæſtor under ſeveral conſuls, who all eſteemed him, not only as an uſeful and experienced officer, but as a pleaſing and agreeable companion? With what induſtry and application did he ſolicit this very [b] Ædileſhip, from the enjoyment of which he is now prematurely ſnatched? A reflection that gives a peculiar poignancy to my affliction for the loſs of him. His unavailing labors, his fruitleſs ſolicitations, and the honor which he merited only, not enjoyed, are for ever in my thoughts. The circumſtance of his having firſt put on the laticlave under my roof; the firſt and the laſt ſuffrage I ever gave him; the converſations we have had, and the conſultations we have held, all return freſh upon my mind. I am ſtruck with the moſt tender ſorrow when I conſider his youth, and reflect upon the irreparable loſs his family has ſuſtained: an aged parent, a young wife to whom he had not been married much above a year; an infant daughter juſt born; ſo many pleaſing hopes,

ſo

[b] The Ædiles were at firſt two officers choſen out of the body of the commons, in order to aſſiſt the Tribunes in the diſcharge of ſome particular parts of their office, the chief of which was the care of public edifices. Others were afterwards elected out of the nobility, to inſpect public games, determine cauſes relating to the ſelling or exchanging of eſtates, to ſuperviſe the public ſtores of corn, and other proviſions, *&c.* Ken. Antiq. p. 116, 117.

ſo many tender joys, all reſerved and deſtroyed in one day! When he was juſt elected ædile; when he was lately commenced a bridegroom; when he was newly made a father, he was taken from the midſt of theſe enjoyments, and has left behind him an honor untaſted, a mother inconſolable, a widowed wife, and an orphan infant, who will have the misfortune of never having known her father! But what increaſes my tears upon this melancholy occaſion is, that being abſent when this accident happened, I never knew of his ſickneſs, till I hear'd of his death, and had no time to prepare myſelf for this cruel ſtroke, by previouſly apprehending it!---- Such is the preſent diſtreſs of my mind!—You muſt not wonder then that it is the whole ſubject of my letter; for I am not able at preſent, to think or talk of any thing elſe. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. *To* MAXIMUS.

THE friendſhip I profeſs to have for you, obliges me, not indeed to direct you (for your are far above the want of a guide) but to remind you, however, of what you already know, and to admoniſh you carefully to obſerve and reſolutely

ſolutely put in practice; that is, in other words, to know it to all the more uſeful purpoſes of knowledge. You will conſider yourſelf as ſent to that noble province, Achaia, the real and genuine Greece, where politeneſs, learning, and even agriculture itſelf, are ſuppoſed to have taken their firſt riſe; as ſent to govern a ſtate compoſed of free-cities; that is, to a ſociety of men who breathe the ſpirit of true manhood and liberty [a]; who main-

[a] "It is remarkable, that even after Greece was abſorb'd "in the Roman empire, and became a province to it under "the name of Achaia, it did not loſe with its power and ſove- "reignty, that lively ſenſe and love of liberty, which was the "peculiar character of that people, amongſt whom the arts "were produced and brought to perfection. The Romans, "when they had ſubdued Greece, left that generous, brave, "polite people, in poſſeſſion of many of their rights and pri- "vileges. And they maintained ſuch an ardent zeal for liber- "ty, that, to name no other inſtances of it, when the civil wars "happen'd in Italy, the Athenians very warmly eſpouſed the "party of Pompey, who fought for the republic: and after "Cæſar was killed, they erected ſtatues in honor of Brutus and "Caſſius, near to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, their "ancient deliverers. It was hence Greece, Athens in parti- "lar, after it was very much fallen and degenerated, conti- "nued ſtill to be the metropolis of ſciences, the ſchool of all "the fine arts, the ſtandard and center of good taſte in all "works of genius, to Cicero's time, and long afterwards; in- "ſomuch that Rome ſent its moſt illuſtrious youth to be per- "fected there in polite literature, eloquence, philoſophy, and "all the ingenious arts and ſciences; and the emperors who "loved learning, if they could not go to Greece and become "ſcholars there, as ſome of them did, brought Greece to them "by inviting and receiving into their palaces its moſt cele- "brated profeſſors and artiſts, and even intruſting the educa- "tion of their children with Greek maſters. Now their con- "tinuing

maintained the right they received from Nature, by courage, by virtue, by alliances; in a word, by civil and religious faith. You will revere the Gods and Heroes their founders; you will reſpect their ancient glory, and even their very age, which as it is venerable in men, in ſtates it is ſacred. You will honor them therefore for their antiquity, and for thoſe famous deeds which are truly, nay for thoſe which are fabulouſly recorded of them. You will indulge them in the full exerciſe of their dignity, their privileges, and even their very vanity. Remember it was from this nation we derived our [b] laws; that ſhe did not receive ours

"tinuing to excel in the arts and ſciences, to what elſe can it "be attributed, but to this, that with ſome ſmall remains of "liberty, they retained the ſpirit of liberty, the love of it, and "zeal for it? It was indeed in conſequence of this alone, that "they maintained, in ſome degree, even 'till Italy was quite "over-run with barbariſm, a ſovereignty the Romans could not "take from them; a ſovereignty in ſcience, arts, and good "taſte. 'Tis impoſſible to account for it in any other way: "they preſerved the arts in a very great degree, becauſe they "retained the ſpirit of liberty in a very extraordinary one." *Turnbull on ancient Painting. p.* 100.

[b] About the year of Rome 300, that is, 452 years before Chriſt, embaſſadors were ſent into Greece, to make a collection of ſuch laws and cuſtoms as the wiſdom of that polite people had eſtabliſhed, particularly the famous ones of Solon. At their return, theſe laws were approved and confirmed, and, together with ſome additional ones, were engraven on ten tables of braſs. Two other tables of laws were ſoon afterwards added to theſe, which together with the former, went by the name of the *twelve tables*, and were looked upon as the fountain of all law, public and private. *Liv. l.* 3, *c.* 31. *Ferriere Hiſt. des Lois civ. c.* 5.

ours by conqueſt, but gave us hers by favor. Remember it is Athens that you approach; it is Lacedæmon you govern; and to deprive ſuch a glorious people of the declining ſhadow, the remaining name of liberty, would be a hardſhip, would be even a barbarity of the ſevereſt kind. Phyſicians, you ſee, tho' with reſpect to diſeaſes there is no difference between freedom and ſlavery, yet treat perſons of the former rank with more tenderneſs, than thoſe of the latter. Reflect on the noble figure theſe cities once made; but ſo reflect, as not to deſpiſe them for what they now are. Far be pride and aſperity from my friend; nor fear by a proper condeſcenſion, to lay yourſelf open to contempt. Can he who is veſted with the power and bears the enſigns of authority, can *He* fail of meeting with reſpect, unleſs by purſuing baſe and ſordid meaſures, and firſt breaking thro' that awful reverence he owes to himſelf? Ill, believe me, is power experienced by injuries; ill can terror command veneration, and far more prevalent is affection in obtaining ones deſires, than fear. For terror operates no longer than its object is preſent, but love produces its effects at a diſtance; and as abſence changes the former into hatred, it raiſes the other into reſpect. It behoves you therefore, (and I cannot but repeat it again) it behoves

you thoroughly to consider the end of your office, and to represent to yourself how great and important the task is of governing a free state. For what is more becoming to human nature than well-ordered government, or more valuable than liberty? How ignominious then must his conduct be, who turns the first into confusion, and the latter into slavery? To these considerations let me add, that you have an established reputation to maintain: the fame you acquired by the administration of the Quæstorship in [c] Bithynia, the good opinion of the emperor, the credit you obtained when you were Tribune and Prætor, in a word, this very government, which may be looked upon as the reward of your former services, are all so many glorious weights which are incumbent upon you to support. So much the more therefore ought you to endeavor that it may not be said, you shewed greater humanity, integrity, and ability in a province remote from Rome, than in one which lies nearer to it; in the midst of a nation of slaves, than among a free people; that it may not be said, it was chance, and not judgment, appointed you to this office; that your character was unknown and unexperienced, not tryed and approved. For (and it is a maxim which your reading and conversation must

[c] A province in Anatolia, or Asia the less.

muſt have often ſuggeſted to you) it is far worſe to loſe the fame one has acquired, than never to have attained it. I again beg you would be perſuaded, that I did not write this letter with a deſign to inſtruct, but to remind you. Tho' indeed if I had, it would have only been in conſequence of my affection for you: a point which I am in no apprehenſion of carrying beyond its juſt limits: for there can not be any danger of exceſs where we ought to advance as far as poſſible. Farewel.

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

BOOK IX.

LETTER I. To MAXIMUS.

I HAVE frequently recommended it to you, to be as expeditious as poſſible in publiſhing what you have written either in defence of yourſelf, or againſt Planta; or rather indeed (as the circumſtances of the caſe demanded) what you drew up with both thoſe views: but I particularly preſs this advice upon you *now* that I hear he is dead. For tho' you read this piece to ſeveral of your friends, and put it into the hands of others, yet I ſhould re-

gret extremely, that the world ſhould ſuſpect you only began after his death, what it is moſt certain you had finiſhed during his life. Let not the character my friend has acquired of firmneſs and reſolution be called in queſtion. And it will not, when both the candid and the malicious world ſhall know, that the death of your adverſary did not give you the confidence of compoſing, but only anticipated the opportunity of publiſhing this piece. And thus you will avoid the imputation,

With impious joy to triumph o'er the dead; [a]

For what you wrote and actually recited when he was yet alive, will be conſidered as publiſhed ſo too, provided you publiſh it ſoon. If therefore you have any other work upon your hands, let me intreat you to lay it aſide, and give your laſt finiſhing touches to this performance. It ſeemed to me indeed, when I formerly read it, to want no improvements; and ſo it ought now to ſeem to you, as neither the thing itſelf requires, nor the time will admit of any farther delay. Farewel.

[a] Hom. Od. lib. 22.

LET-

LETTER II. *To* SABINUS.

YOUR request that I would write to you very frequent and very long letters, is extremely agreeable to me. If I have forborne to do ſo, it is partly in conſideration of the important affairs in which you are employed; and partly from ſome very cold and unintereſting engagements of my own, which diſſipate my thoughts, and at the ſame time damp my imagination. Beſides I have not a ſufficient ſupply of matter for frequent letters; and am by no means in the ſame ſituation that Tully was, whom you point out to me as an example. He not only poſſeſſed a moſt enlarged genius, but the circumſtances of the times wherein he lived, furniſhed him with a variety of noble occaſions of exerciſing it. As for myſelf, you know (without my telling you) to what narrow limits I am confined, unleſs my letters were to turn upon the fictitious and pedantic topics of the ſchools. But when I conſider you in the midſt of arms and encampments, inflamed with martial muſic, or fatigued with toil and heat, how abſurd would it be to talk to you upon ſuch ſubjects? This is my apology, and I think a reaſonable one; however, I almoſt wiſh you would not accept it: for to reject the

excuſes

excuses of a friend upon such an occasion, be they ever so just, is an evident proof a warm affection. Farewel.

LETTER III. To PAULINUS.

MAnkind differ in their notions of happiness; but in my opinion it consists in the anticipation of an honest fame, and the conscious security of making a glorious figure in the eyes of posterity. I confess, if I had not the reward of an immortal reputation in view, I should prefer a life of uninterrupted ease and retirement, to any other. There seem to be but two points worthy our attention; either the endless duration of fame, or the short extent of life. Those who are governed by the former consideration, must pursue it with the full exertion of the most laborious efforts; while such as are influenced by the latter should quietly resign themselves to repose, nor wear out a short life in perishable pursuits: as some, we may observe, do, and then sink at last into contempt, in the midst of a wretched and fruitless course of false industry. These are my daily reflections, which I communicate to you, in order to renounce them if you do not join with me in the same sentiments: as undoubtedly you will, who are for ever meditating some glorious and immortal enterprize.

LET-

LETTER IV. To Macrinus.

I Should fear you would think the oration which you receive with this letter, immoderately long, but that it is of ſuch a nature as to require ſeveral breaks; and as it conſiſts of different charges, has the appearance of ſo many diſtinct ſpeeches. Wherever therefore you begin or end, you may conſider what follows, either as connected with what went before, or making of itſelf a new ſubject; ſo that you may look upon it as very long upon the whole, and yet as extremely ſhort with reſpect to its particular parts. Farewel.

LETTER V. To Tiro.

YOU are to be highly applauded for the mildneſs with which, as I am informed (and I make very ſtrict enquiry) you adminiſter juſtice in your province; one principal branch of which is to diſtinguiſh merit in every degree, and ſo to gain the love of the lower rank, as to preſerve at the ſame time the affection of their ſuperiors. But it is an error many have fallen into, that while they endeavor to avoid the appearance of favoring the great, they run into the contrary extreme, and

gain

gain the character of acting with ill manners, or ill nature. A mistake this, which you are far from committing, I well know: however, I cannot forbear throwing in a caution with my applause, and recommending it to you, to conduct yourself in such a manner as to keep up the distinction of rank and dignity. For to level and confound the different orders of mankind, is far from producing an equality among them; it is, in truth, the most unequal thing imaginable. Farewel.

LETTER VI. To CALVISIUS.

I Have spent these several days past in my study with the most pleasing tranquillity imaginable. You will ask how that can possibly be in the midst of Rome? It was the time of celebrating the [a] Circensian games; an entertainment for which I have not the least taste. They have no novelty, no variety to recommend them, nothing in short, one would wish to see twice. It is the more surprising therefore, that so many thousand people should be possessed with the childish passion of desiring often to see a parcel of horses gallop, and men standing upright in their chariots. If indeed, it were the

[a] These games were originally of Græcian extraction, but first introduced among the Romans by Romulus, in order to favor his design of carrying off the Sabin virgins: they consisted of horse and chariot races, &c.

the ſwiftneſs of the horſes, or the ſkill of the men that attracted them, there might be ſome little pretence of reaſon on their ſide. But it is the *dreſs* they [b] favor; it is the dreſs that captivates them. And if in the midſt of the courſe the different parties were to change habits, their different favorers would change ſides, and inſtantly deſert the very ſame men and horſes, whom they juſt before were eagerly following with their eyes, as far as they could ſee, and hallowing out their names with all the warmth of exclamation. Such mighty charms, ſuch wonderous power is there in a vile tunic! And this in the ſentiments, not only of the vulgar (more contemptible than the habit they eſpouſe) but even in the opinion of ſome grave perſonages. When I obſerve ſuch men thus inſatiably fond of ſo ſilly, ſo low, ſo unintereſting, ſo common an entertainment, I congratulate myſelf that I am inſenſible to theſe pleaſures: and am glad to employ the leiſure of this ſeaſon upon my books, which others throw away upon the moſt idle employment. Farewel.

LET-

[b] The performers at theſe games were divided into companies, diſtinguiſhed by the particular color of their habits; the principal of which were the white, the red, the blue, and the green. Accordingly the ſpectators favored one or the other color, as humor and caprice inclined them. In the reign of Juſtinian a † tumult aroſe in Conſtantinople, occaſioned merely by a contention among the partizans of theſe ſeveral colors, wherein no leſs than 30,000 men loſt their lives.

† Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. c.

LETTER VII. To ROMANUS.

YOUR letter informs me, that you are engaged in building, and I am glad to find you are; for I may now defend my own conduct by your example. I am myself employed in the same sort of work; and since I have you, who shall deny I have reason on my side? We are pretty much agreed likewise, I find, in our situations; and as your buildings are carried on upon the sea-coast, mine are rising upon the side of the Larian lake. I have several villas upon the borders of this lake, but there are two particularly, in which as I take most delight, so they give me most employment. They are both situated in the manner of those at [a] Baiæ; one

[a] Now called Castello di Baia, in Terra di Lavoro. It was the place the Romans chose for their winter retreat; and which they frequented upon account of its warm baths. Some few ruins of the beautiful villas that once covered this delightful coast, still remain; and nothing can give one a higher idea of the prodigious expence and magnificence of the Romans in their private buildings, than the manner in which some of these were situated. It appears from this letter, as well as from several other passages in the classic writers, that they actually projected into the sea, being erected upon vast piles sunk for that purpose. Virgil draws a beautiful simile from this custom, where he compares the massy spear which Turnus let fly at Bitias, to one of those enormous piles thrown into the Baian sea:

Qualis

one of them ſtands upon a rock, and has a proſpect of the lake; the other actually touches it. The firſt,

Qualis in Euboico Baiarum littore quondam
Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam mollibus ante
Conſtructum jaciunt ponto; ſic illa ruinam
Prona trahit penituſque vadis illiſa recumbit;
Miſcent ſe maria, & nigræ attolluntur arenæ.
Æn. ix. 710.

So from the Baian mole, whoſe ſtructures riſe
High o'er the flood, a maſſy fragment flies;
The rapid rolling pile all headlong ſweeps
With one vaſt length of ruin to the deeps;
Thick boil the billows, and on every ſide
Work the dark ſands, and blacken all the tide.
Pit.

Horace alſo, in one of his moral Odes, points out and expoſes this amazing luxury of building:

Tu ſecanda marmora
Locas ſub ipſum funus; & ſepulcri
Immemor, ſtruis domos;
Mariſque Baiis obſtrepentis urges
Summovere littora,
Parum locuples continente ripa.
Od. 18. l. 2.

—You, with thoughtleſs pride elate,
Unconſcious of impending fate,
Command the pillar'd dome to riſe,
When lo! thy tomb forgotten lies;
And tho' the waves indignant roar,
Forward you urge the Baian ſhore,
While earth's too narrow bounds in vain
Thy guilty progreſs would reſtrain.
Mr. Francis.

And here indeed, luxury ſeems to have reigned in her moſt licentious refinements of all kinds; while the principal amuſement of the place conſiſted in ſailing upon the gulph in gaily painted

first, supported as it were by the lofty [b] buskin, I call my *tragic*; the other, as resting upon the humble sock, my *comic* villa. They have both their particular beauties, which recommend themselves to me so much the more, as they are of different kinds. The former commands a wider prospect of the lake; the latter enjoys a nearer view of it. This by an easy bend embraces a little bay; the promontory upon which the other stands, forms two. Here you have a strait walk extending itself along the banks of the lake; there a spacious terrace that falls by a gentle descent towards it. The former does not perceive the force of the waves; the latter breaks them: from *that* you see the fishing-vessels below; from *this* you may fish yourself, and throw your line out of your chamber, and even as you lie in bed, as out of a boat. It is the beauties therefore these agreeable villas possess, that tempt me to add to them those which are wanting.——But I need

painted barks, accompanied with all the melting softness that exquisite wines, fine women, and rapturous music could inspire. There was something even in the natural, as well as artificial turn of the scene, which seem'd formed to throw the mind into a state of softness and dissipation; insomuch that Seneca, with all his stoical fortitude, durst not trust himself in it above a day. See Seneca, ep. 51.

[b] The buskin was a kind of high shoe worn upon the stage by the actors of tragedy, in order to give them a more heroical elevation of stature; as the sock was something between a shoe and stocking, and appropriated to the comic players.

need not aſſign a reaſon to you; who, undoubtedly, will think it a ſufficient one that I follow your example. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To AUGURINUS.

WERE I to praiſe *you* from whom I have received ſo much applauſe, I am afraid it ſhould ſeem I did ſo, not ſo much to ſhew my judgment, as my gratitude. Nevertheleſs I will not ſcruple to ſay, that I think all your productions are beautiful; eſpecially, no doubt, thoſe of which I am the ſubject. And the ſame reaſon will account both for their deſerving that character, and for my thinking ſo: for as on the one hand you ever ſucceed beſt when friendſhip inſpires you; ſo on the other, I always admire moſt what flatters my ſelf-love. Farewel.

LETTER IX. To COLO.

I Greatly admire the generous grief you ſhew for the death of Pompeius Quinctianus, as it is a proof that your affection for your departed friend, does not terminate with his life. Far different from thoſe who love, or rather, I ſhould more properly ſay, who counterfeit love to none but the living. Nor indeed even that any longer than they

are the favorites of fortune; for the unhappy are no more the object of their thoughts, than the dead. But *your* friendship is raised upon a more lasting foundation, and the constancy of your affection can only end with your life. Quinctianus, most certainly, well deserved to meet with that generous warmth from his friends, of which he was himself so bright an example. He loved them in prosperity; he protected them in adversity; he lamented them in death. How open was his countenance! how modest his conversation! how equally did he temper gravity with gaiety! how fond was he of learning! how judicious his sentiments! how dutiful to a father of a very different character! and how did he reconcile his obedience to his virtue; and continue a good son, without forfeiting the title of a good man!—But I must not sharpen your affliction by reminding you of his merit—yet I know your affection for the memory of this excellent youth is such, that you had rather endure the pain of hearing him mentioned, than suffer his virtues to be passed over in silence; especially by me, whose applause, you imagine, will adorn his actions, extend his fame, and restore him, as it were, to that life from which he is unhappily snatched. Farewel.

LETTER X. To Tacitus[a].

I Should like extremely well to follow your advice; but there is ſuch a ſcarcity of boars, that it is impoſſible to reconcile Minerva with Diana, who, you think, ought to be worſhiped together. I muſt content myſelf then with paying my ſingle homage to the former; and even that with ſome reſtriction, as conſidering the heats of the ſeaſon, and the privileged indolence of retirement. I compoſed, indeed, a few trifles in my journey hither, which are only fit to be deſtroyed, as they are written with the ſame negligence and inattention that one uſually chats upon the road. Since I came to my villa, I have made ſome few additions to them, not finding myſelf in a humor to turn my thoughts

[a] The learned Catanæus, with ſome other commentators, imagines this letter does not belong to Pliny, but is the anſwer of Tacitus to the 6th epiſtle of the firſt book. He ſupports this conjecture, indeed, by no authority; only thinks it falls in exactly with the letter, to which he ſuppoſes it an anſwer, and fancies he diſcovers ſomething in the ſtile different from our author's manner. But upon a compariſon of the two letters, there ſeems little reaſon to believe one is an anſwer to the other. And as to any difference of ſtile (if there really be any, which the tranſlator confeſſes he has not penetration enough to diſcover) it is much too precarious an argument to have any weight in the caſe. The ſuppoſition of Caſaubon ſeems more probable, who thinks this epiſtle might be occaſioned by one from Tacitus, wherein he reminded Pliny of his own advice to him, in that letter to which Catanæus imagines this an anſwer.

to things of more confequence. Thus my poetry, which you imagine is carried on with fo much advantage amidft the filence and folemnity of woods and groves, is, in truth, at a ftand. I have alfo revifed an oration or two; tho' that kind of work is difagreeable and unentertaining enough, and has a much nearer affinity with ruftic labors, than with rural pleafures. Farewel.

LETTER XI. To GEMINUS.

YOUR letter was particularly agreeable to me, as it mentioned your defire that I would fend you fomething of mine to infert in your works. I fhall find an occafion of complying with your requeft more proper than that which you propofe, the fubject you point out to me being attended with fome objections; and when you confider it again, you will think fo.—As I did not imagine there were any bookfellers at [a] Lugdunum, I am fo much the more pleafed to learn that my works are fold there. I rejoice to find they maintain the character abroad, which they raifed at home; and I begin to flatter myfelf they have fome merit, fince perfons of fuch diftant countries are agreed in their fentiments concerning them. Farewel.

[a] Lyons, in the Lyonois, a province of France.

LETTER XII. *To* JUNIOR.

A Certain friend of mine lately corrected his son with great severity before me, for being something too profuse in the article of dogs and horses. " And pray, said I to him (when the " youth was withdrawn) did you never commit a " fault yourself which deserved your father's cor-" rection ? Nay, are you not sometimes even now " guilty of errors, which your son, were he in " your place, might with equal gravity reprove ? " Are not all mankind subject to follies ? And " have we not each of us our particular foibles in " which we fondly indulge ourselves ?"

The great affection I have for you, induced me to set this instance of unreasonable severity before you, as a caution not to treat your son with too much rigor and austerity. Consider he is but a boy, and that there was a time when you were so too. In exerting therefore, the authority of a father, remember always that you are a man, and the parent of a man. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. To QUADRATUS.

THE pleaſure and attention with which you read the vindication I publiſhed of [a] Helvidius, has extremely raiſed your curioſity, it ſeems, to be informed of thoſe particulars relating to that affair, which are not mentioned in the defence; as you were too young to be preſent yourſelf at that tranſaction. When Domitian was killed, a glorious opportunity, I thought, offered itſelf to me of purſuing the guilty, vindicating the injured, and advancing my own reputation. But amidſt an infinite variety of the blackeſt crimes, none appeared to me more atrocious, than that a ſenator, of prætorian dignity, and inveſted with the ſacred character of a judge, ſhould, even in the very ſenate itſelf, lay violent hands upon a member [b] of that auguſt aſſembly; upon one, who formerly had the honor of being conſul, and who then ſtood arraigned before him. Beſides this general conſideration, I had likewiſe a particular intimacy with Helvidius, as far as it was poſſible to have with one, who fearing the tyranny of the times, endeavored to veil

[a] He was accuſed of treaſon, under pretence that in a dramatic piece which he compoſed, he had, in the characters of Paris and Oenone, reflected upon Domitian for divorcing his wife Domitia. Suet. in vit. Domit. c. 10.

[b] Helvidius.

veil the glory of his fame, and the luſtre of his virtues, in obſcurity and retirement. Arria likewiſe, and her daughter Fannia who was mother-in-law to Helvidius, were in the number of my friends. But it was not ſo much private attachments, as the honor of the public, a juſt indignation at the action, and the danger of the example if it ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, that animated me upon this occaſion. At the firſt reſtoration of [c] liberty, every man ſingled out his particular enemy, (tho', it muſt be confeſſed, thoſe only of a lower rank) and in the midſt of much clamor and confuſion, no ſooner brought the charge than procured the condemnation. But for myſelf, I thought it would have more the appearance of moderation as well as reſolution, not to take advantage of the general reſentment of the public, but to cruſh this criminal with the ſingle weight of his own enormous guilt. When therefore, the firſt heat of public indignation began to cool, and declining paſſion gave way to juſtice, tho' I was at that time under great affliction for the loſs of [d] my wife, I ſent to Anteia, the widow of Helvidius, and deſired her to come to me, as my late misfor-

[c] Upon the acceſſion of Nerva to the empire, after the death of Domitian.

[d] Our author's firſt wife; of whom we have no particular account. After her death, he married his favorite Calphurnia.

tune obliged me to keep at home. When ſhe arrived, I acquainted her with my reſolution not to ſuffer the injuries her huſband had received, to paſs unrevenged; and deſired her to conſult with Arria and Fannia (who were juſt returned from exile) whether ſhe and they would join with me in the proſecution. Not that I wanted, I ſaid, an aſſociate, but that I was not ſo jealous of my own glory, as to refuſe to ſhare it with them in this affair. She accordingly carried this meſſage; and they all agreed to the propoſal without the leaſt heſitation. It happened very opportunely, that the ſenate was to meet within three days. It was a general rule with me to conſult, in all my affairs, with Corellius, a perſon of the greateſt prudence and wiſdom this age has produced. However, in the preſent caſe, I relied entirely upon my own diſcretion, being apprehenſive he would not approve of my deſign, as he was of a very ſlow and cautious temper. But tho' I did not previouſly deliberate with him, (experience having taught me, never to adviſe with a perſon upon an affair we are determined to purſue, where he has a right to expect that one ſhall be decided by his judgment) yet I could not forbear acquainting him with my reſolution at the time I intended to carry it into execution. The ſenate being aſſembled, I came into the houſe, and begged I might have leave

leave to make a motion; which I did in few words, and with general aſſent. When I began to touch upon the charge, and point out the perſon I intended to accuſe (tho' as yet without mentioning him by name) I was attacked on all ſides. "Let us know, ſays one, who is the ſubject of this "extraordinary motion? Who is it (aſked another) "that is thus accuſed, without acquainting the "houſe with the name of the perſon, and the "particular crime with which he is charged? "Surely (added a third) we who have outlived "the informations of former times, may expect "now, at leaſt, to remain in ſecurity." I heard all this with great calmneſs, and without being the leaſt terrified. Such is the effect of being conſcious of the integrity of one's deſigns; and ſo much difference is there with reſpect to inſpiring confidence or fear in the breaſt of him who is engaged in any public action, whether the world had only rather he ſhould not do it, or abſolutely condemns it. It would be too tedious to relate all that was thrown out by different ſides upon this occaſion. At length the conſul acquainted me, that I ſhould be at liberty to propoſe what I thought proper, when my turn came to give my opinion upon the [a] buſineſs

[a] 'Tis very remarkable, that when any ſenator was aſked his opinion in the houſe, he had the privilege of ſpeaking as long

neſs of the day. I thanked him for allowing me a liberty, which he never yet (I ſaid) refuſed to any; and ſo ſat down: when immediately the houſe went upon other affairs. In the mean while, one of my conſular friends took me aſide, and with great earneſtneſs telling me he thought I had carried on this affair with more boldneſs than prudence, uſed every method of reproof and perſuaſion, to prevail with me to deſiſt; adding at the ſame time, that I ſhould certainly, if I perſevered, render myſelf odious to ſome future prince. "And ſo I would "wiſh to be, (I returned) ſhould he prove a wicked one." He had ſcarce left me, when a ſecond came up: "for God's ſake, ſaid he, what are you "attempting? Why will you ruin yourſelf? Do "you conſider to what hazards you are expoſed? "Why will you preſume too much on the pre- "ſent ſituation of public affairs, when it is ſo un- "certain what turn they may hereafter take? You "are attacking a man who is actually at the head "of the treaſury, and will ſhortly be conſul. Be- "ſides, do you conſider what credit he has, and "with what powerful friendſhips he is ſupport- "ed?" Upon which he named a certain perſon, who (not without ſeveral ſtrong and ſuſpicious

"rumors)

long as he pleaſed upon any other affair, before he came to the point in queſtion. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. c. 10.

rumors) was then at the head of a powerful army in the eaſt. I replied,

"*All I've foreſeen, and oft in thought revolv'd;*[f]

"and am willing, if fate ſhall ſo decree, to ſuf-"fer in an honeſt cauſe, provided I can draw ven-"geance down upon an infamous on." The time for the members to give their opinion was now arrived. Domitius Apollinaris, the conſul elect, ſpoke firſt; after him Fabricius Vejento, then Fabius Poſthumius, Vectius Proculus next, (who married my wife's mother, and who was collegue of Publicius Certus, the perſon on whom the debate turned) and laſt of all Ammius Flaccus. They all defended Certus, as if I had named him (tho' I had not yet ſo much as once mentioned him) and entered upon the particular juſtification of a crime, which I had only touched upon in general terms. It is not neceſſary to repeat, in this place, what they ſaid, as I have related it in their own words in the ſpeech above-mentioned. Avidius Quietus, and Cornutus Tertullius anſwered them. The former obſerved, "that it was extremely unjuſt not to hear "the complaints of thoſe who thought themſelves "injured, and therefore that Arria and Fannia "ought

[f] Æneid. lib. 6. v. 105.

"ought not to be denied the privilege of laying "their grievances before the houſe; and that the "point for the conſideration of the ſenate was not "the rank of the perſon, but the merit of the "cauſe." Then Cornutus roſe up and told the houſe, "that as he was appointed guardian to the "daughter of Helvidius by the conſuls, upon the "petition of her mother and her father-in-law, he "thought himſelf obliged to fulfil the duty of his "truſt. In the execution of which, however, he "would endeavor to ſet ſome bounds to his in-"dignation, by following that great example of "moderation which thoſe excellent women [a] had "ſet, who contented themſelves with barely in-"forming the ſenate of the cruelties which Certus "committed in order to carry on his infamous "adulation. And therefore, he ſaid, he would only "move, that if a puniſhment due to a crime ſo "notoriouſly known, ſhould be remitted, that at "leaſt Certus might be branded with ſome mark "of the diſpleaſure of that auguſt aſſembly." Satrius Rufus ſpoke next, and endeavoring to ſteer a kind of middle courſe, expreſſed himſelf with much ambiguity. "I am of opinion, ſaid he, "great injuſtice will be done to Certus, if he is "not acquitted (for I do not ſcruple to mention "his

[a] Arria and Fannia.

"his name, ſince the friends of Arria and Fannia, "as well as his own, have done ſo too) nor indeed "have we any occaſion to be ſolicitous upon this "account. We who think well of the man, ſhall "judge him with the ſame impartiality as the reſt: "but if he is innocent, as I hope he is, and ſhall be "glad to find, I think this houſe may very juſtly "deny the preſent motion, 'till ſomething ſhall "be proved againſt him." Thus, according to the reſpective order in which they were called [a] upon, they delivered their ſeveral opinions. When it came to my turn, I roſe up, and uſing the ſame introduction to my ſpeech as I have publiſhed in the defence, I replied to them ſeverally. It is ſurpriſing with what an univerſal aſſent I was heard, even by thoſe who juſt before were loudeſt againſt me: ſuch a wonderful change was wrought either by the importance of the affair, the eloquence of the ſpeech, or the reſolution of the advocate. After I had finiſhed, Vejento attempted to reply; but the general clamor raiſed againſt him, not permitting him to go on, "I hope, my "lords,

[a] In the early times of the republic they began by aſking the opinion of the *Prince* of the ſenate, and the reſt went on each according to his age. Under the emperors, their will ſerved as a rule: for as the prince preſided in the ſenate, he demanded the opinion of him firſt, whom he thought fit to do that honor: however, he more uſually began with the conſuls.

"lords, ſaid he, you will not oblige me to im-"plore the aſſiſtance of the [h] Tribunes." Immediately the tribune Murena cried out, "You "have my leave, moſt illuſtrious Vejento, to pro-"ceed." But ſtill the clamor was renewed. In the interval, the conſul order'd the houſe to divide, and having counted the voices, diſmiſſed the ſenate, leaving Vejento in the midſt, ſtill attempting to ſpeak. He made great complaints of this affront (as he called it) applying the following lines of Homer to himſelf:

[i] *Great perils, father, wait th' unequal fight;*
Thoſe younger champions will oppreſs thy might.

There was ſcarce a man in the ſenate that did not embrace and kiſs me, and all ſtrove who ſhould applaud me moſt, for having with the utmoſt hazard to myſelf, revived a cuſtom ſo long diſuſed, of freely conſulting the ſenate upon affairs that concern the honor of the public; in a word, for having wiped off that odium which was thrown upon it by other orders in the ſtate, "that "the ſenators mutually favored the members of "their

[h] The tribunes were magiſtrates choſen at firſt out of the body of the commons, for the defence of their liberties, and to interpoſe in all grievances offered by their ſuperiors. Their authority extended even to the deliberations of the ſenate.

[i] Diomed's ſpeech to Neſtor, adviſing him to retire from the field of battle. Iliad. iii. 102. Pope.

" their own body, while they were extremely se-" vere in animadverting upon the rest of their " fellow-citizens." All this was transacted in the absence of Certus; who kept out of the way either because he suspected something of this nature was intended to be moved, or (as was said in his excuse) that he was really indisposed. Cæsar, however, did not refer the examination of this matter to the senate. But I obtained nevertheless, what I aimed at, another person being appointed to succeed Certus in the consulship, while the election of his collegue to that office was confirmed. And thus, the wish with which I concluded my speech, was actually accomplished: " may he be obliged, said I, to renounce under " a [k] virtuous prince, that reward he received " from an infamous one [l]." Sometime after I recollected, as well as I could, the speech I had made upon this occasion; to which I threw in some additions. It happened (tho' indeed it had the appearance of being something more than casual) that a few days after I had published this piece, Certus was taken ill and died. It was reported that his imagination was continually haunted with this affair, and represented me always before

[k] Nerva.
[l] Domitian; by whom he had been appointed consul elect, tho' he had not yet entered upon that office.

before his eyes, like a man that was purſuing him with a dagger. Whether there was any truth in this rumor, I will not venture to affirm; but for the ſake of example, however, I could wiſh it might gain credit. And now I have ſent you a letter, which (conſidering it is a letter) is as long as the defence you ſay you have read: but you muſt thank yourſelf, for not being contented with the information that piece could afford you. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* TACITUS.

THO' you are by no means inclined to ſelf-admiration, yet, be aſſured, none of my writings are more ſincerely the undiſſembled dictates of my real thoughts, than thoſe of which you are the ſubject. Whether, indeed, Poſterity will concern herſelf with either of us, I know not; but ſurely we deſerve ſome ſmall regard at leaſt, I will not ſay upon account of our geniuſes (that would be too vain a pretenſion) but from our application, our labors, and that high reverence we pay to her. Proceed we then, my friend, in the courſe we have begun, which as it has conducted ſome few to the faireſt point of luſtre and

repu-

reputation, ſo it has led out numbers from ſilence and obſcurity. Farewel.

LETTER XV. *To* FALCO.

I Retired to my villa at Tuſcum, with the hopes of paſſing my time here, at leaſt, in my own way: but that is a privilege, I find, I am not to enjoy even here; ſo greatly am I interrupted with the troubleſome complaints and petitions of my tenants. I look over their papers with more reluctance than my own; for to confeſs the truth, it is with great unwillingneſs I review even them. I am reviſing, however, ſome little orations; an employment which, after a length of time has intervened, is but of a very cold and unentertaining kind. In the mean while, my private affairs are neglected as much as if I were abſent. Yet I ſometimes ſo far act the part of a careful maſter of a family, as to mount my horſe and ride about my farms, inſtead of taking my exerciſe in the [a] *geſtatio*. As for you, I hope you will keep up your old cuſtom, and in return for this account of my rural affairs, let me know what is going forward in town. Farewel.

[a] See p. 4. note c.

LETTER XVI. To MAMILIANUS.

IT is no wonder the chace you mention afforded you infinite pleaſure, ſince "the number of "the ſlain (to own your own hiſtorical [a] expreſſion) "was not to be counted." As for myſelf, I have neither leiſure nor inclination for ſports of that kind: not leiſure, becauſe I am in the midſt of my vintage; not inclination, becauſe it has proved an extreme bad one this ſeaſon. However, I ſhall be able, I hope, to *draw off* ſome new verſes, at leaſt, if not new wine, for your entertainment, which (ſince you requeſt them in ſo agreeable a manner) I will not fail to ſend you, as ſoon as they ſhall be thoroughly *ſettled*. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To GENITOR.

I Have received your letter, in which you complain of being highly diſguſted lately at an entertainment, tho' exceeding ſplendid, by a ſet of buffoons, fools, and wanton proſtitutes, who were playing their antic tricks [b] round the tables. But let

[a] An expreſſion frequent among the hiſtorians in their deſcriptions of battles.

[b] Theſe perſons were introduced at moſt of the tables of the great, for the purpoſes of mirth and gaiety, and conſtituted

let me advise you to smooth your brow a little. I confess, indeed, I admit nothing of this kind at my own house; however, I bear with it in others.

"And

tuted an essential part in all polite entertainments among the Romans. It is surprizing how soon this great people fell off from their original severity of manners, and were tainted with the false refinements of foreign luxury. Livy dates the rise of this, and other unmanly delicacies, from the conquest of Scipio Asiaticus over Antiochus; that is, when the Roman name had scarce subsisted above a hundred and fourscore years. * *Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo*, says he, *exercitu Asiatica in urbem invecta est*. This triumphant army catch'd, it seems, the contagious softness of the people it subdued; and at its return to Rome, spread an infection among their countrymen, which worked by slow degrees till it effected their total destruction. Thus did eastern luxury revenge itself on Roman arms! It may be wondered, that Pliny should keep his own temper, and check the indignation of his friends at a scene, which was fit only for the dissolute revels of the infamous Trimalchio. But it will not, perhaps, be doing justice to our author, to take an estimate of his real sentiments upon this point, from the letter before us. Genitor, it seems, was a man of strict, but rather of too austere morals for the free turn of the age: *emendatis & gravis: paulo etiam horridior & durior ut in hac licentia temporum*. [Ep. 3. L. 3.] But as there is a certain seasonable accommodation to the manners of the times, not only extremely consistent with, but highly conducive to the interests of virtue, Pliny, probably, may affect a greater latitude than he in general approved, in order to draw off his friend from that stiffness and unyielding disposition, which might prejudice those of a gayer turn against him, and consequently lessen the beneficial influence of his virtues upon the world. A late most ingenious author, who has greatly distinguished himself in several branches of useful and polite literature, has given us a representation of one of these buffoons, from an antique in his collection; to which the reader is referred for a stronger idea of the vitiated and low taste of those, who could receive from them any entertainment. See Middleton, Antiq. tab. 9. fig. 2.

* Liv. l. 39. c. 6.

" And why then (you will be ready to ask) should " you not have them your self?" The truth is, because the soft gestures of the wanton, the pleasantries of the buffoon, or the extravagancies of the fool, give me no entertainment, as they give me no surprize. It is my particular taste, you see, not my judgment, that I plead against them. And indeed, what numbers are there who think the entertainments which you and I are most delighted with, to be no better than impertinent follies! How many are there, who as soon as a reader, a musician, or a comedian is introduced, either take their leave of the company, or if they continue at the table, shew as much dislike to this kind of diversions, as you did at those *monsters*, as you call them! Let us bear therefore my friend, with others in their amusements, that they, in return, may shew indulgence to ours. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. To Sabinus.

WITH what care and attention you will read my works, and how perfectly treasure them in your memory, your letter is a sufficient testimony. Do you consider then, what a troublesome affair you are bringing upon your hands, when you kindly entice me, by every

friendly

friendly art to communicate to you as many of them as poſſible? I cannot, certainly, refuſe your requeſt; but ſhall comply with it, however, at different intervals, and obſerve ſome kind of ſucceſſion. For I would not by too copious and too frequent a ſupply, over-burthen and confound a memory, to which I already owe ſo many acknowledgments; nor, in ſhort, pour in ſuch an unreaſonable quantity, as to oblige it to diſcharge what it had before receiv'd, in order to retain what follows. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. *To* Ruffo.

YOU have read, it ſeems, in a letter [a] of mine, that Virginius Rufus directed the following lines to be inſcribed upon his tomb:

Here Rufus lies, who Vindex' arms withſtood,
Not for himſelf, but for his country's good:

for which you blame him, and think Frontinus acted much more reaſonably, in forbidding any monument whatſoever to be erected to his memory. And in the concluſion of your letter you deſire

[a] To Albinus; ſee book 6. let. 10.

my sentiments upon each. I loved them both; but I confess I admired *him* most whom you condemn; and to such a degree, that so far from imagining I ever should have occasion to rise up in his defence, I thought he could never be sufficiently applauded. In my opinion, every man who has acted a great and memorable part, deserves not only to be excused but approved, if he pursues that glorious immortality of fame he has merited, and endeavors to perpetuate an everlasting remembrance of himself, even by monumental inscriptions. Yet hardly shall you find a man, who had performed such great atchievements, so modestly reserved upon the subject of his own actions, as Virginius was. I can bear him witness (and I had the happiness to enjoy his intimacy and affection) that I never but once heard him mention his own conduct; and that was, in giving an account of a conversation which passed between him and Cluvius: "You well know (said Cluvius "to him) the fidelity required in an historian; "you will pardon me therefore, I hope, if you "should meet with any thing in my works, that is "not agreeable to you." "O Cluvius, he replied, "can you be ignorant that what I did, was in "order that every man might enjoy the liberty "of writing what he pleased?" But let us compare

pare Frontinus with him in that very instance, wherein you think the former is more modest and reserved. He forbid a monument to be erected to him, it is true; but in what words? "The expence of a monument, says he, is superfluous; "my memory will remain, if my actions deserve "it." Is there less vanity, do you think, thus to proclaim to all the [a] world that his memory would remain; than to mark upon a single tomb-stone, in two lines, the actions one has performed? It is not, however, my design to condemn your favorite; I only mean to defend Virginius: and what argument can be more prevailing with you, than one drawn from a comparison between him and the person you prefer? In my own opinion, indeed, neither of them deserve to be condemned, since they both pursued glory with the same passion, but by different roads; the former in desiring those monumental honors he had merited; the latter, in rather choosing the appearance of despising them. Farewel.

[a] It appears from hence, that this was not a testamentary direction, but a declaration in some work which Frontinus had published.

LETTER XX. To VENATOR.

THE longer your letter was, ſo much the more agreeable I thought it; eſpecially as it turned entirely upon my works. I am not at all ſurprized you ſhould find a pleaſure in them, ſince I know you have the ſame affection for every thing that belongs to me, as you have for myſelf.—

The getting in of my vintage (which tho' it has proved but a ſlender one this ſeaſon, is, however, more plentiful than I expected) particularly employs me at preſent. If indeed I can with any propriety ſay ſo, who only gather a grape now and then, viſit the vine-preſs, taſte the muſt in the vat, and ſaunter to my domeſtics [a]; who being all engaged without doors, have wholly abandoned me to my readers and my ſecretaries. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To SABINIANUS.

YOUR freedman, whom you lately mentioned to me with diſpleaſure, has been with me, and threw himſelf at my feet with as much ſub-

[a] The diſtinction in the civil law between the *ſervi Urbani & Ruſtici*, is alluded to in the original; but as we have not the ſame among us, it is not poſſible, perhaps, to preſerve this alluſion, with propriety, in an Engliſh tranſlation.

ſubmiſſion as he could have done at yours. He earneſtly requeſted me with many tears, and even with all the eloquence of ſilent ſorrow, to intercede for him; in ſhort, he convinced me by his whole behavior, that he ſincerely repents of his fault. And I am perſuaded he is thoroughly reformed, becauſe he ſeems entirely ſenſible of his guilt. I know you are angry with him, and I know too, it is not without reaſon; but clemency can never exert itſelf with more applauſe, than when there is the juſteſt cauſe for reſentment. You once had an affection for this man, and, I hope, will have again: in the mean while, let me only prevail with you to pardon him. If he ſhould incur your diſpleaſure hereafter, you will have ſo much the ſtronger plea in excuſe for your anger, as you ſhew yourſelf more exorable to him now. Allow ſomething to his youth, to his tears, and to your own natural mildneſs of temper: do not make him uneaſy any longer, and I will add too, do not make yourſelf ſo; for a man of your benevolence of heart, cannot be angry without feeling great regret. I am afraid, were I to join my intreaties with his, I ſhould ſeem rather to compel, than requeſt you to forgive him. Yet I will not ſcruple to do it; and in ſo much the ſtronger terms, as I have very ſharply and ſeverely reproved him, po-

ſitively

ſitively threatening never to interpoſe again in his behalf. But tho' it was proper to ſay this to him, in order to make him more fearful of offending: I do not ſay ſo to you. I may, perhaps, again have occaſion to intreat you upon his account, and again obtain your forgiveneſs; ſuppoſing, I mean, his error ſhould be ſuch as may become me to intercede for, and you to pardon. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. To SEVERUS.

I HAVE been much alarmed by the ill ſtate of health of Paſſienus Paulus, as indeed I had many and juſt reaſons. He has a moſt excellent and generous heart, of which I have the happineſs to ſhare the warmeſt friendſhip. In his writings he very ſucceſsfully emulates the antients, whoſe ſpirit and manner he has cloſely imitated and happily reſtored; eſpecially that of Propertius, to whom he is no leſs related by genius, than by blood, as he particularly reſembles that poet in his chief excellency. When you read his elegies, whatever is elegant, tender, and agreeable, will conſpire to charm you; as you will clearly diſcover they derive their lineage from Propertius. He has lately made ſome attempts in the lyric kind, in which he as ſucceſsfully copies the manner of Horace, as he has

has that of the other poet juſt mentioned. You would imagine, were there ſuch a thing as a kindred in genius, that the blood of Horace likewiſe flowed in his veins. He diſplays a moſt wonderful compaſs and pregnancy of imagination: when he deſcribes the paſſion of love, you perceive his heart is entirely poſſeſſed by the moſt tender ſentiments; when he paints the emotions of grief, you ſee his breaſt is penetrated with the deepeſt ſorrow; when he enters upon topics of panegyric, it is with all the ardor of the warmeſt benevolence; when he diverts himſelf with ſubjects of pleaſantry, it is in the ſpirit of the moſt agreeable gaiety; in ſhort, whatever ſpecies of poetry he engages in, he executes it with ſuch a maſterly hand, that one would imagine it were the ſingle branch to which he had applied himſelf. The dangerous indiſpoſition of ſuch a friend and ſuch a genius, occaſion'd as much anxiety to me, as it did pain to him. But at length *he* is recovered, and *my* peace is reſtored: an event which deſerves your congratulation, not only for my ſake, but for the ſake of learning itſelf, which ran as great a hazard by his danger, as it will receive glory by his recovery. Farewel.

L E T-

LETTER XXIII. To Maximus.

IT has frequently happened, as I have been pleading before the centumviri, that those venerable judges, after having preserved as much as possible the gravity and solemnity suitable to their character, have at length been forced, as it were, to break thro' all restraints, and have risen up, with one consent, in my applause. I have often likewise gained as much glory in the senate, as my utmost wishes could desire: but I never was touched with a more sensible pleasure than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me, that at the last Circensian games, he sat next to a Roman knight, who after much discourse had passed between them upon various points of learning, asked him if he was an Italian, or a provincial? Tacitus replied, "Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am." Ay! said the knight, "Pray then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with?" I cannot express how highly I am pleased to find, that our names are not so much the proper appellatives of men, as a kind of distinction for learning herself; and that eloquence renders us known to those, who would be ignorant of us by any other means. An accident of the same

nature happened to me a few days ago. Fabius Rufinus, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, was placed next to me at table; and below him a countryman of his, who was juſt then come to Rome for the firſt time. Rufinus deſired his friend to take notice of me, and fell into a converſation upon the ſubject of my eloquence: to whom the other immediately replied, "That muſt undoubtedly be Pliny." To own the truth, I look upon theſe inſtances as a very conſiderable recompence of my labors. Had Demoſthenes reaſon to be pleaſed with the old woman of Athens crying out, [a] "This is "Demoſthenes!" And may I not be allowed to congratulate myſelf upon the extenſive reputation my name has acquired? Yes, my friend, I will rejoice in it, and without ſcruple own that I do. As I only mention the judgment of others concerning me, not the opinion I conceive of myſelf, I am not

[a] The ſtory, as related by Tully, is thus: Demoſthenes met an old woman carrying a pail of water, upon which ſhe whiſpers to her companion, "This is Demoſthenes!" I muſt not, however conceal from the reader, that Tully condemns the Grecian orator for being pleaſed upon this occaſion, and accounts for it in the true ſpirit of genuine philoſophy *, *apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non multum ipſe ſecum*: he had learnt the art of talking to others, but was unacquainted, it ſeems, with the moſt inſtructive of all arts, the art of *ſelf-converſe*: a little of this home-philoſophy would have taught him, in the judgment of Tully, to rate *vulgar* admiration at a lower value.

* Tuſc. l. 5.

not afraid of incurring the censure of vanity [b]; especially from you, who, as you envy no man's reputation,

[b] Those who have formed their notions of *modesty* according to the false refinements in manners, which latter times have introduced, will take offence, probably, at the advantageous terms, in which Pliny here, and in some other passages of these letters, speaks of himself. But it will not be just to estimate our author's character, by maxims which have been received in the world long since he left it. It is most certain that modesty, according to the idea the antients had of it, did not (neither in the truth of things does it) forbid a man to speak well of himself, where he has merit to support the character he claims. True modesty consisted only (as indeed it ought only to consist) in being *ashamed* to commit any thing base and unworthy; any thing unbecoming the dignity of human nature; any thing in defiance of that reverence we owe to ourselves, and to that rank we hold in the order of rational beings: she was in short, the *custos virtutum omnium*, as Tully emphatically calls her, the guardian and protectress of the whole train of human virtues. Pliny, who often recommends *modesty* as one of the most shining virtues in others, could never have spoken thus favorably of his own merit, if it had been contrary to the received notions of that most amiable quality. And that it was not, is extremely evident from the whole tenor of antiquity in the article of self-condemnation. Homer's Ulysses (to borrow the observation of a very polite and judicious critic) "calls himself the *wisest* of the Grecians, as his Achilles does "not scruple to represent himself the *best and most valiant* of "them; and that too in a council of all the princes: Virgil "has given us his approbation of both the one and the other "in making Æneas talk frequently of his own piety and "valour. Socrates in Plato, is always brought in to his ad-"vantage; he himself quotes the oracle, which pronounced "him to be the *wisest of men*. Xenophon represents Cyrus, "upon his death bed, as taking notice of the greatest beauty "of his own character, his humanity; in a piece which every "one knows was designed for the character of a perfect prince. "Cæsar and the great Jewish writer of his own life frequently "commend themselves: the greatest critic, as well as the "greatest orator among the Romans, who so often reckons "*Modesty* among the things which are most necessary toward

"rendering

putation, ſo you are particularly zealous for mine. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. *To* SABINIANUS.

I Greatly approve of your having, in compliance with my [a] letter, received again into your family and favor, a freed-man, whom you once admitted into a ſhare of your affection. It will afford you, I doubt not, great ſatisfaction. It certainly, at leaſt has me, both as it is a proof that you are capable of being governed in your paſſion, and as it is an inſtance of your paying ſo much regard to me, as either to yield to my authority, or to comply with my requeſt. You will accept, therefore, at once, both of my applauſe and my thanks. At the ſame time I muſt adviſe you, to be diſpoſed for the future to pardon the errors of your people, tho' there ſhould be none to interpoſe in their behalf. Farewel.

" rendering a man great in his profeſſion; how open and fre-
" quent is he in praiſing himſelf, and ſetting his own merit
" in a true light? But what puts this beyond diſpute (and
" ſhews at the ſame time, that a juſt condemnation of one's
" ſelf may be very conſiſtent with the greateſt modeſty) is to
" be found in the ſacred writings, in which Moſes ſays of him-
" ſelf, that he was the *meekeſt man upon earth.*" Eſſay on Pope's Odyſ. pt. 1. 52.

[a] See Let. 21. of this Book.

LET-

LETTER XXV. To MAMILIANUS.

THO' you complain of the crowd of military affairs which prefs upon you, yet, as if you were enjoying the moft uninterrupted leifure, you read and admire, it feems, my poetical trifles, and not a little encourage me ftill to perfevere in them. I begin, indeed, to purfue this kind of ftudy, not only with a view to my amufement, but my glory, fince they have approved themfelves to the judgment of a man of your gravity and learning, and what is more than all, of your veracity. At prefent I have fome caufes upon my hands, which (tho' not very deeply indeed, however) engage me; when I fhall have difpatched thefe, I will again truft my mufe in your candid bofom. You will fuffer my little doves and fparrows to take wing among your eagles[a], if you fhould have the fame good opinion of them as they have of themfelves; if not, you will kindly confine them to their cage and their nefts. Farewel.

[a] Alluding to the Roman ftandard, which was an eagle fix'd upon the top of a fpear.

LETTER XXVI. *To* Lupercus.

I Said once (and I think not improperly) of a certain orator of the preſent age, whoſe compoſitions are extremely regular and correct, but by no means ſublime and ornamented, "His only "fault is, that he has none." Whereas he who is poſſeſſed of the true ſpirit of oratory, ſhould be bold and elevated, and ſometimes even flame out and be hurried away with all the warmth and violence of paſſion; in ſhort, he ſhould frequently ſoar to great, and even dangerous heights: for precipices are generally near whatever is towering and exalted. The Plain, 'tis true, affords a ſafer, but for that reaſon a more humble and inglorious path: they that run, are, more likely to ſtumble than they that creep; but the latter gain no honor by not ſlipping, while the former even fall with glory. It is with eloquence as with ſome other arts; ſhe is never more pleaſing than when ſhe hazards moſt. Have you not obſerved what acclamations our rope-dancers excite, at the inſtant of imminent danger? Whatever is moſt unexpected and hazardous, or as the Greeks ſtrongly expreſs it, whatever is moſt *daring*, has always the greateſt ſhare of our admiration. The pilot's ſkill is by no

means equally proved in a calm, as in a ſtorm: in the former caſe he tamely enters the port, unnoticed and unapplauded; but when the cordage cracks, the maſt bends, and the rudder groans, then is it that he ſhines forth in full luſtre, and is adored as little inferior to a ſea-god. The reaſon of my making this obſervation is, becauſe, if I miſtake not, you have marked ſome paſſages in my writings for being tumid, exorbitant, and over-wrought, which in my eſtimation, are full and bold and ſublime. But it is material to conſider, whether your criticiſm turns upon ſuch points as are real faults, or only ſtriking and remarkable expreſſions. Whatever is elevated is ſure to be obſerved; but it requires a very nice judgment to diſtinguiſh the bounds between true and falſe grandeur; between a juſt and enormous height. To give an inſtance out of Homer, both of the grand and elevated ſtile, in the following lines; which can ſcarce, I imagine, have eſcaped any reader's obſervation!

Heav'n in loud thunder bids the trumpet ſound;
And wide beneath them groans the rending ground [a].

——— Again,

Reclin'd on clouds his ſteed and armor lay [b].

So

[a] Iliad. xxi. 387. Pope's tranſ.
[b] Iliad. v. 356. ſpeaking of Mars.

So in this whole paſſage:

> [c] *As torrents roll, increas'd by numerous rills,*
> *With rage impetuous down their echoing hills,*
> *Rush to the vales, and pour'd along the plain,*
> *Roar thro' a thouſand channels to the main.*

It requires, I ſay, a very delicate hand to poiſe theſe metaphors, and determine whether they are too figurative and lofty; or truly majeſtic or ſublime. Not that I think any thing which I have wrote or can write, admits of compariſon with theſe. I am not extravagant enough to ſay ſo: what I would be underſtood to contend for is, that we ſhould throw up the reins to eloquence, nor reſtrain the daring

[c] Iliad. 4. v. 452. Pope's tranſl. It is with great judgment Pliny diſtinguiſhes between *grandeur* and *elevation*, which, tho' they are ſometimes confounded, are moſt certainly diſtinct. Grandeur ſeems to conſiſt entirely in the ſentiment, and is the firſt of the five ſpecies of ſublimity which * Longinus has enumerated. The paſſage that admired critic quotes from the account which Moſes gives of the creation, is of this kind: *God ſaid, Let there be Light; and there was Light.* Here is nothing in the expreſſion ornamented or elevated: the language is plain and ſimple, yet conveys to the mind the nobleſt idea of omnipotence that the utmoſt efforts of the ſtrongeſt imagination can conceive. But when a ſublime thought is clothed (if I may ſo ſay) in all the graceful propriety of juſt figure, it then becomes elevated. The illuſtrations which our author produces from Homer, are of this ſort, where greatneſs of ſentiment is heighten'd by beauty of imagery.

* Sect. 8.

daring flights of genius within too narrow a compass. But it will be said, perhaps, there is a wide difference between orators and poets. As if, in truth, Tully were not as bold in his figures as any of the poets. But not to mention particular instances from him, in a point where, I imagine, there can be no dispute; does [a] Demosthenes himself, that model and standard of true oratory, does Demosthenes check and repress the fire of his genius, in that well-known passage which begins thus: "Ye infamous flatterers, ye evil genii, &c?"— And again, "It is neither with stones nor bricks "that I have fortified this city, &c."— And afterwards; "I have *thrown* up these *out-works* before "Attica, and pointed out to you all the resources "which human prudence can suggest, &c."—And in another place; "O my Countrymen, I swear by "the immortal Gods, that he is *intoxicated* with the "grandeur of his own actions, &c."—But what can be more daring and beautiful than that long di-

[a] The design of Pliny in this letter is, to justify the figurative expressions he had employed, probably in some oration, by instances of the same warmth of coloring from those great masters of eloquence, Demosthenes and his rival Æschines. But the force of the passages which he produces from these orators, must necessarily be greatly weakened to a mere modern reader, some of them being only hinted at, as generally well known; and the metaphors in several of the others, have either lost much of their original spirit and boldness, by being introduced and received into common language, or cannot, perhaps, be preserved in an English translation.

digreſſion, which begins in this manner: "A ter-"rible diſeaſe, O my countrymen, has ſeized upon "all Greece, &c?"—The following paſſage likewiſe, tho' ſomething ſhorter, is conceived in the ſame boldneſs of metaphor:—"Then it was I roſe "up in oppoſition to the daring Pytho, who *poured* "*forth a torrent* of menaces againſt you, &c."—The ſubſequent ſtricture is of the ſame ſtamp: "When a man has ſtrengthen'd himſelf, as Philip "has, in avarice and wickedneſs, upon the firſt pre-"tence that offers itſelf, at the firſt falſe ſtep, be it "ever ſo inconſiderable, *he briſtles up his mane* "and deſtroys all, &c."—So in the ſame ſtile with the foregoing is this:—"*Railed off*, as it were, "from the privileges of ſociety, by the concurrent "and juſt judgments of the three tribunals in the "city."—And in the ſame place: "O Ariſtogi-"ton! you have betrayed that mercy which uſed "to be ſhewn to offences of this nature, or rather "indeed, you have wholly exhauſted it. In vain "then would you fly for refuge to a *port*, which "you have *ſhut up*, and *choaked with piles*."—He had ſaid before; "I am afraid therefore, you ſhould "appear in the judgment of ſome, to have *ſet up* "*a public office* for bad education; for there is a "weakneſs in all wickedneſs, which renders it un-"able to ſupport itſelf!"—And a little lower; "I

"see none of these resources open to him; but all "is *precipice*, *gulph*, and *profound abyss*."—And again: "Nor do I imagine that our ancestors "erected those courts of judicature, that men of "his character should be *planted* there; but on "the contrary, that none may desire to imitate their "evil actions."—And afterwards: "If he is then "the *artificer* of every wickedness, if he openly "makes it his *trade and traffic*, &c."—And a thousand other passages which I might cite to the same purpose; not to mention those expressions which Æschines says, are not words, but *wonders*.—You will tell me, perhaps, I have unwarily mentioned Æschines, since Demosthenes is condemn'd even by him, for running into these figurative expressions. But observe, I intreat you, how far superior the former orator is to his criticizer, and superior too in the very passages to which he objects: for in others, the strength of his genius discovers itself; in those above quoted, the sublimity of it shines out. But does Æschines himself avoid what he reproves in Demosthenes? "The orator, says he, "Athenians, and the law, ought to *speak* "the same language; but when the *voice* of the law "declares one thing, and that of the orator another, we should give our vote to the justice of "the law, not to the impudence of the orator."—

And

And in another place: " He afterwards mani- " festly discovered the design he had, of concealing " his fraud under cover of the decree, having ex- " presly declared therein, that the embassadors " sent to the Oretæ gave the five talents, not to " you, but to Callias. And that you may be " convinced what I say is the truth (after having " *stripped* the decree of its *gallies*, its pomp and " ostentation) read the clause itself."—And in another part: " Suffer him not to *break cover* and " *wander* out of the limits of the question:" A metaphor he is so fond of, that he repeats it again: " But remaining firm and confident in the assem- " bly, *drive* him into the merits of the question, " and observe well how he *doubles*."—Is his stile more reserved and simple, when he says: " But " you are for ever *wounding* our ears, and are " more concerned in the success of your daily ha- " rangues, than for the salvation of the city."— What follows is conceived in a yet higher strain of figure: " Will you not expel this man as the " common calamity of Greece? will you not seize " and punish this *pirate* of the state, who *sails* about " in quest of favorable conjunctures? &c."—with many other passages of the like nature. And now I expect you will make the same attacks upon certain expressions in this letter, as you did upon those I

have been endeavoring to defend. The rudder that *groans*, and the pilot compared to a *ſea-god*, will not, I imagine, eſcape your criticiſm: for I perceive while I am ſuing for indulgence to my former ſtile, I have fallen into the ſame turn of figure that you condemn. But attack them if you pleaſe, provided you will immediately appoint a day when we may meet to diſcuſs theſe matters in perſon: you will then, either teach *me* to be leſs daring, or I ſhall learn *you* to be more bold. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII. *To* LATERANUS.

I Have had many occaſions to obſerve the power, the dignity, the majeſty, and I will add too, even the *divine* efficacy there is in hiſtory; but I never met with ſo ſtrong an inſtance of it as lately. An author had recited part of an hiſtorical performance, which he had drawn up with the utmoſt regard to truth, reſerving the remainder for another day. When behold! the friends of a certain perſon came to him, and earneſtly conjured him not to recite the reſt: ſo much were they aſhamed to hear thoſe actions repeated, which yet they did not bluſh to commit? The hiſtorian complied (as he well

well might, without any breach of honor) with their requeſt. But however, both the hiſtory and the action ſtill remain, and will ever remain and be read. And read too with ſo much the greater curioſity, as the publicaion of it is delayed: for nothing raiſes the inquiſitive diſpoſition of mankind ſo much, as to defer the gratification of it. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. *To* ROMANUS.

YOUR letters have at length reached me, and I received three at once; all written in the ſtrongeſt ſpirit of eloquence and friendſhip, and ſuch as I had reaſon to expect from you, eſpecially after having wiſhed for them ſo long. In one, you enjoin me the very agreeable commiſſion of forwarding your letter to that excellent lady, the virtuous [a] Plotina: I will take care to do ſo. At the

[a] Plotina was conſort to the emperor Trajan. Her virtues are celebrated by ſeveral hiſtorians, and our author draws a moſt amiable character of her in few words, in his noble * panegyric upon that prince. He repreſents her (and he could not give a higher idea of her) as meriting the choice of that excellent emperor; of a ſanctity of manners worthy of ancient Rome; plain in her habit, modeſt in her equipage, and polite in her addreſs. She greatly contributed, it is † ſaid, to the wiſe choice which Trajan made of a ſucceſſor; and Adrian, in gratitude for her good offices to him in that election, dedicated a magnificent temple to her memory, at Niſmes in Languedoc: the remains of which are ſtill to be || ſeen.

* Plin. Paneg. No. 83. † Eutrop. L. 8. c. 6.
|| Montfauc. Diar. p. 4.

The ſame time you recommend to me Popilius Artemiſius; and accordingly I have performed your requeſt. You tell me alſo your vintage has proved extremely moderate. That complaint, notwithſtanding we are ſeparated by ſuch diſtant countries, is common to us both. Your ſecond letter informs me, that you are employed in dictating and writing upon a ſubject, wherein you have me ſtrongly in view. I am much obliged to you; and ſhould be more ſo, if you would give me the pleaſure of reading your performance. It is but juſt indeed, that as I communicate to you all my compoſitions, you ſhould ſuffer me to partake of yours, even tho' they ſhould turn upon ſubjects which concern others. You promiſe me in the cloſe of your letter, that as ſoon as you ſhall be informed with certainty, in what manner I intend to diſpoſe of myſelf, you will make an elopement from your family, and immediately fly to me: I am already preparing certain chains for you, which, when I have you here, you will by no means be able to break thro'. I learn from your third, that my oration in behalf of Clarius has been delivered to you, which appears, it ſeems, more full than when you heared it pronounced. It is ſo, I con-

fefs; for I afterwards very confiderably enlarged it. You mention having fent me another letter, which you fay was written with peculiar elegance, and defire to know if I have received it: I have not, but impatiently wifh for its arrival. To make me amends, write to me upon every the firft opportunity, and pay me with full intereft for this delay; which I fhall compute, be affured, at the higheft rate: for tell me, can I acquit you upon more reafonable terms? Farewel.

LETTER XXIX. *To* Rusticus.

As it is far better to excel in any fingle art, than to arrive only at a mediocrity in feveral; fo, on the other hand, a moderate fkill in feveral is to be prefer'd, where one cannot attain to perfection in any. Upon this maxim it is, that I have attempted compofitions of various forts, as I could not expect to carry any particular one to its higheft point of excellency. I hope, therefore, when you read any performance of mine, you will confider it with that indulgence which is due to an author, who has not confined himfelf to a fingle manner of writing, but has ftruck out into different kinds. In every other fort of workmanfhip, the number pleads fome excufe for the deficiencies

of the artiſt; and ſhall works of literature, the moſt difficult of all others, be tried by a ſeverer law? But whilſt I am beſpeaking your candor, am I not bringing my gratitude in queſtion? For, if you receive theſe laſt pieces with the ſame indulgence that you have all my former, I have more reaſon to hope for your applauſe, than to ſue for your pardon. However, your pardon will be ſufficient. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. *To* GEMINIUS.

YOU have frequently in converſation, and lately in a letter, commended your friend Nonius to me for his great liberality to ſome particular perſons: I ſhall join with you in his applauſe, if his bounty is not confin'd to thoſe only. I would have *Him* who deſires to ſhew himſelf influenced by a ſpirit of true generoſity, be liberal to his country, his kindred, his relations, and his friends; his friends, I mean, in diſtreſs: not like thoſe who chiefly beſtow their preſents, where there is the greateſt ability to make returns. I do not look upon ſuch, as parting with any thing of their own; on the contrary, I conſider their bounties as only ſo many diſguiſed baits, thrown out with a deſign of catching the property of others. Much

of the ſame character are thoſe, who defraud one man in order to be generous to another, and purſue munificence thro' the paths of avarice. The firſt and fundamental principle of genuine liberality, is to be contented with one's own; and after that, to cheriſh and embrace all the moſt indigent of every kind, in one comprehenſive circle of benevolence. If your friend obſerves this rule in its full extent, he is entirely to be commended; if he only partially purſues it, ſtill he deſerves (in a leſs degree indeed, however, he deſerves) applauſe: ſo uncommon is it to meet with an inſtance of generoſity even of the moſt imperfect kind! The luſt of avarice has ſo totally ſeized upon mankind, that their wealth ſeems rather to poſſeſs them, than they to poſſeſs their wealth. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI. To SARDUS.

I Still continued with you, notwithſtanding we had parted: for I entertained myſelf with reading over your book. And I frequently repeated with particular fondneſs, (I honeſtly own it) thoſe paſſages of which I am the ſubject: a ſubject upon which, indeed, you have been extremely copious. With what a variety of expreſſion, and in how many different lights have you placed the ſame

ſentiments concerning the ſame perſon? Will you ſuffer me to mingle my applauſes with my acknowledgments? I can do neither, ſufficiently; and if I could, there would be ſomething, I fear, of vanity, in making that the ſubject of my praiſe, which is, in truth, the object of my thanks. I will only add then, that I thought your compliments to me raiſed the merit of your performance; as the merit of your performance heightened the pleaſure of your compliments. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII. To TITIANUS.

WHAT are you doing? And what do you propoſe to do? As for myſelf, I paſs my life in the moſt agreeable, that is, in the moſt diſengaged manner imaginable. I do not find my ſelf therefore, in the humor to write a long letter, tho' I am to read one. I am too much a man of pleaſure for the former, and juſt idle enough for the latter: for none are more indolent, you know than the voluptuous, or have more curioſity than thoſe who have nothing to do. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIII. To CANINIUS.

I HAVE met with a ſtory, which tho' it is ſupported by undoubted credit, has all the air of fable, and would afford a very proper ſubject for the ſublimity of your lively, and truly poetical genius. It was related to me the other day at table, where the converſation happened to turn upon various kinds of miraculous events. The perſon who gave the account, was a man of unſuſpected veracity:—but what has a poet to do with truth? However, you might venture to rely upon his teſtimony, even tho' you had the character of a faithful hiſtorian to ſupport. There is in Africa a town called Hippo, ſituated not far from the ſea-coaſt: it ſtands upon a navigable lake, from whence a current runs into the main ocean, which ebbs and flows with the ſea. Perſons of all ages divert themſelves here with fiſhing, ſailing or ſwiming; eſpecially boys, whom love of play and idleneſs bring hither. The conteſt among them is, who ſhall have the glory of ſwiming fartheſt; and he that leaves the ſhore and his companions at the greateſt diſtance, gains the victory. It happened in one of theſe trials of ſkill, that a certain boy, more bold than the reſt, launched out towards the oppoſite ſhore. He

was

was met by a dolphin[a], who ſometimes ſwam before him, and ſometimes behind him, then played round him, and at laſt took him upon his back, then let him down, and afterwards took him up again; and thus carried the poor frighted boy out into the deepeſt part; when immediately he turns back again to the ſhore, and lands him among his companions. The fame of this remarkable accident ſpread thro' the town, and crowds of people flocked round the boy (whom they viewed as a kind of prodigy) to aſk him queſtions and hear him relate the ſtory. The next day the ſhore was lined with multitudes of ſpectators, all attentively obſerving the ocean, and (what indeed is almoſt itſelf an ocean) the lake. In the mean while the boys ſwam as uſual, and among the reſt, the youth I am ſpeaking of went into the lake, but with more caution than before. The dolphin appeared again and came to the boy, who together with his companions ſwam away with the utmoſt precipitation. The dolphin, as it were, to invite and recal them, bounded and dived up and down, winding about in a thouſand different circles. This he practiſed for ſeveral days together,

[a] This animal is celebrated by ſeveral of the antients for its philanthrophy, and Pliny the elder in particular, relates this very ſtory, among other inſtances, in confirmation of that notion. See Plin. hiſt. nat. l. 9. c. 8.

ther, till the people (accuſtomed from their infancy to the ſea) began to be aſhamed of their timidity. They ventured therefore, to advance nearer, playing with him and calling him to them, while he in return, ſuffered himſelf to be touched and ſtroked. Uſe rendered them more courageous: The boy, in particular, who firſt made the experiment, ſwam by the ſide of him, and leaping upon his back, was carried about in that manner: thus they began to be fond of and acquainted with each other. There ſeemed now, indeed, to be no fear on either ſide, the confidence of the one and tameneſs of the other mutually increaſing; the reſt of the boys in the mean while ſurrounding and encouraging their companion. It is very remarkable, that this dolphin was followed by a ſecond, which ſeemed only as a ſpectator and attendant on the former; for he did not at all ſubmit to the ſame familiarities as the firſt, but only conducted him backwards and forwards, as the boys did their comrade. But what is farther ſurpriſing, and no leſs true than that I have already related, is, this dolphin who thus played with the boys and carried them upon his back, would come upon the ſhore, dry himſelf in the ſand, and as ſoon as he grew warm, roll back into the ſea. Octavius Avitus, deputy governor

of the province, from an abſurd piece of ſuperſtition, poured [b] ſome precious ointment over him as he lay on the ſhore: The novelty and ſmell of which, made him retire into the ocean, and it was not till after ſeveral days that he was ſeen again, when he appeared dull and languid; however he recovered his ſtrength, and continued his uſual wanton tricks. All the magiſtrates round the country flocked hither to view this ſight, the entertainment of whom upon their arrival, and during their ſtay, was an additional expence, which the ſlender finances of this little community would ill afford; beſides, the quiet and retirement of the place was utterly deſtroyed. It was thought proper therefore to remove the occaſion of this concourſe, by privately killing the poor dolphin. And now, with what a flow of tenderneſs will you deſcribe this ſad [c] cataſtrophy! and how

[b] It was a religious ceremony practiſed by the antients, to pour precious ointments upon the ſtatues of their gods: Avitus, it is probable, imagined this dolphin was ſome ſea-divinity, and therefore expreſſed his veneration of him by the ſolemnity of a ſacred unction.

[c] The overflowing humanity of Pliny's temper breaks out upon all occaſions, but he diſcovers it in nothing more ſtrongly than by the impreſſion which this little ſtory appears to have made upon him. True benevolence indeed, extends itſelf thro' the whole compaſs of exiſtence, and ſympathizes with the diſtreſs of every creature capable of ſenſation. Little minds

how will your genius adorn and heighten this moving ſtory! Tho' indeed, it does not require any fictitious embelliſhments; it will be ſufficient to place the real circumſtances in their full light. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV. *To* TRANQUILIUS.

I Am under a wonderous difficulty, which you muſt ſettle. I have not, I am told, a good manner of reading verſes: my talent lying chiefly in reciting orations, I ſucceed ſo much the worſe, it ſeems, in poetry. I deſign therefore, as I am to recite ſome poems to my particular friends, to make uſe of my freedman for that purpoſe. It is an inſtance, I own, of my treating them with little ceremony, that I employ a perſon who is not himſelf very expert in this way. However, he will per-

minds may be apt to conſider a compaſſion of this inferior kind, as an inſtance of weakneſs; but it is undoubtedly the evidence of a noble nature. Homer thought it not unbecoming the character even of a Hero, to melt into tears at a diſtreſs of this ſort, and has given us a moſt amiable and affecting picture of Ulyſſes weeping over his faithful dog Argus, when he expires at his feet:

——αυταρ ο νοσφιν ιδων απομορξατο δακρυ,
Ρεια λαθων Ευμαιον.——

Soft pity touch'd the mighty maſter's ſoul;
Adown his cheek the tear unbidden ſtole,
Stole unperceiv'd; he turn'd his head and dry'd
The drop humane.——

Odyſ. xvii. Pope.

form, I know, better than I can, provided his fears do not diſconcert him; for he is as unpractiſ-ed a reader as I am a poet. Now the important queſtion is, how I ſhall behave while he is reading; whether I ſhall ſit in a fix'd and indolent poſture, or follow him as he pronounces, with my eyes, hands and voice; a manner which ſome, you know, practiſe? But I am apprehenſive I can beat * time no better than I can read. I repeat it again therefore, you muſt extricate me out of this wonderous difficulty, and write me word whether you think it more excuſable to read ill, than to practiſe or omit any of the weighty circumſtances above-mentioned. Farewel.

LET-

* In the original it is called *ſaltatio*, which means a motion of the hands accommodated either to one's own, or another's elocution. Our language does not ſupply a proper word for this geſture, as indeed we have too little occaſion to find the want of it; the *chironomic* art, ſo much ſtudied by the antients, being in the number of thoſe which have been long ſince loſt. But if the * *indoctæ ruſticæve manus*, the aukward and unmeaning diſpoſition of the hands, would have ſpoiled the nobleſt ſpeech at Rome or Athens that Tully or Demoſthenes, in all the warmth of their enlivening eloquence, ever delivered; it would not, perhaps, be time ill employed, if our modern orators would give a little more attention to the graceful management of thoſe eſſential inſtruments of affecting elocution This becoming art, ſo far as it was connected with maſculine oratory, Pliny, moſt certainly, could not but be well ſkilled in: it is probable therefore, what he ſays in this place, alludes to this *affected manner* which certain authors of his time had fallen into, when they attended the rehearſal of

* Quinctilian.

LETTER XXXV. To APPIUS.

I HAVE received your book, and return you thanks for it: But am at present so much engaged, that I have not time to read it; which, however, I impatiently wish to do. I have that high reverence for learning in general, and for your compositions in particular, that I think it a sort of profanation to approach them but with a mind entirely disengaged.—I extremely approve of your care in revising your works; remember, however, this exactness has its limits: too much polishing rather weakens than strengthens a performance. Besides, this excessive delicacy, while it calls one off from other pursuits, not only prevents any new attempts, but does not even finish what it has begun. Farewel.

of their own works; and that the whole turn of this epistle is ironical. This conjecture seems supported not only by the subject of the letter, which is scarce of importance enough to bear a serious enquiry; but also by the expression he sets out with, viz. *Explica* æstum *meum*, which seems to be of the ludicrous kind.

LETTER XXXVI. To FUSCUS.

YOU desire to know in what manner I dispose of my time, in my summer villa at Tuscum? I rise just when I find myself in the humor, tho' generally with the sun; sometimes indeed sooner, but seldom later. When I am up I continue to keep the shutters of my chamber-windows closed, as darkness and silence wonderfully promote meditation. Thus free and abstracted from those outward objects which dissipate attention, I am left to my own thoughts; nor suffer my mind to wander with my eyes, but keep my eyes in subjection to my mind, which when they are not distracted by a multiplicity of external objects, see nothing but what the imagination represents to them. If I have any composition upon my hands, this is the time I choose to consider it, not only with respect to the general plan, but even the stile and expression, which I settle and correct as if I were actually writing. In this manner I compose more or less as the subject is more or less difficult, and I find myself able to retain it. Then I call my secretary, and, opening the shutters, I dictate to him what I have composed, after which I dismiss him for a

little

little while, and then call him in again. About ten or eleven of the clock, (for I do not obſerve one fixed hour) according as the weather proves, I either walk upon my terrace, or in the cover'd portico, and there I continue to meditate or dictate what remains upon the ſubject in which I am engaged. From thence I get into my chariot, where I employ myſelf as before, when I was walking or in my ſtudy; and find this changing of the ſcene preſerves and enlivens my attention. At my return home, I repoſe myſelf; then I take a walk, and after that, repeat aloud ſome Greek or Latin oration, not ſo much for the ſake of ſtrengthening my elocution[a], as my digeſtion; tho' indeed the voice at the ſame time finds its account in this practice. Then I walk again, am anointed, take my exerciſes, and go into the bath. At ſupper, if I have only my wife, or a few friends with me, ſome author is read to us; and after ſupper we are entertained either with muſic, or an interlude. When that is finiſhed, I take my walk

[a] By the regimen which Pliny here follows, one would imagine, if he had not told us who were his phyſicians, that the celebrated Celſus was in the number. That author expreſly recommends reading aloud, and afterwards walking, as beneficial in diſorders of the ſtomach: *Si quis ſtomacho laborat, legere clare debet; poſt lectionem, ambulare,* &c. Celſi medic. L. 1. c. 8.

with my family, in the number of which I am not without ſome perſons of literature. Thus we paſs our evenings in various converſation; and the day, even when it is at the longeſt, ſteals away imperceptibly. Upon ſome occaſions, I change the order in certain of the articles above-mentioned. For inſtance, if I have ſtudied longer or walked more than uſual, after my ſecond ſleep and reading an oration or two aloud, inſtead of uſing my chariot I get on horſeback; by which means I take as much exerciſe and loſe leſs time. The viſits of my friends from the neighboring villages claim ſome part of the day; and ſometimes, by an agreeable interruption, they come in very ſeaſonably to relieve me when I am fatigued. I now and then amuſe myſelf with ſporting, but always take my tablets into the field, that tho' I ſhould not meet with game, I may at leaſt bring home ſomething[b]. Part of my time too (tho' not ſo much as they deſire) is allotted to my tenants; and I find their ruſtic complaints give a zeſt to my ſtudies and engagements of the politer kind. Farewel.

[b] See B. 1. let. 6. and the note there.

LETTER XXXVII. To Paulinus.

As you are not of a diſpoſition to expect from your friends, the common ceremonies of the world, when they cannot obſerve them without inconvenience to themſelves; ſo I too warmly love you to be apprehenſive you will take otherwiſe than I wiſh you ſhould, my not waiting upon you on the firſt day on your entrance upon the conſular office; eſpecially as I am detained here by the neceſſity of letting my farms upon long leaſes. I am obliged to enter upon an entire new method with my tenants: for under the former leaſes, tho' I made them very conſiderable abatements, they have run greatly in arrear. For this reaſon ſeveral of them have, not only taken no ſort of care to leſſen a debt, which they found themſelves incapable of wholly diſcharging; but even ſeized and conſumed all the produce of the lands, in the belief that it would now be no advantage to themſelves to ſpare it. I muſt therefore obviate this increaſing evil, and endeavor to find out ſome remedy againſt it. The only one I can think of is, not to reſerve my rent in money, but in kind, and ſo place ſome of my ſervants to overlook the tillage, and guard the ſtock; as indeed

there is no ſort of revenue more agreeable to reaſon, than what ariſes from the bounty of the ſoil, the ſeaſons and the climate. 'Tis true, this method will require great integrity and diligent attendance in the perſon I appoint my bailiff, and put me to the expence of employing many hands. However, I muſt hazard the experiment; and, as in an inveterate diſtemper, try every change of remedy. You ſee, it is not any pleaſurable indulgence, that prevents my attending you on the firſt day of your conſulſhip. I ſhall celebrate it nevertheleſs, as much as if I were preſent, and pay my vows for you here, with all the warmeſt ſentiments of joy and congratulation. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII. To SATURNINUS.

YES, I ſincerely applaud your friend Rufus: not becauſe you deſire me; but becauſe I think he highly merits approbation. I have read his very finiſhed performance; to which, tho' my affection for the author added a conſiderable recommendation, yet it did not blind my judgment: for the malicious critic, is not, I truſt, the only judicious reader. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIX. To MUSTIUS.

IN compliance with the advice of the [a] Aruspices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of Ceres, which stands upon my estate. It is indeed a very ancient fabric, and tho' extremely small, yet upon a certain stated anniversary is much frequented. On the 13th of September great numbers of people from all the country round assemble there, at which time many affairs are transacted, and many vows paid and offered; but there is no shelter for them against the inclemency of the weather. I imagine then, I shall do at once an act of piety and munificence, if at the same time that I build a beautiful temple, I add to it a spacious portico; the first for the service of the Goddess, the other for the use of the people. I beg therefore you would purchase for me four marble pillars, of whatever kind you shall think proper; as also a quantity of marble for laying the floor and incrusting the walls. You must likewise either buy a statue of the Goddess, or

[a] The business of the Aruspices was, to examine the beasts which were offered in sacrifice, and from thence to foretel the success of any enterprize.

or procure one to be made; for age has maimed, in ſome parts, the ancient one of wood which ſtands there at preſent. With reſpect to the portico, I do not recollect there is any thing you can ſend me that will be ſerviceable; unleſs you will ſketch me out a plan ſuitable to the ſituation of the place. It is not practicable to build it round the temple, becauſe it is encompaſſed on one ſide by the river whoſe banks are exceedingly ſteep; and on the other, by the high road. Beyond this road lies a very large meadow, in which the portico may be conveniently enough placed, oppoſite to the temple; unleſs you, who know ſo well how to conquer the inconveniencies of nature, by art, can propoſe ſome better ſituation. Farewel.

LETTER XL. To Fuscus.

YOU are much pleaſed, I find, with the account I gave you in my former [a] letter, of the manner in which I ſpend the ſummer ſeaſon at Tuſcum; and deſire to know what alteration I make in my method, when I am at Laurentinum in the winter? None at all, except abridging myſelf of my ſleep at noon, and employing part of the night in ſtudy: and if any cauſe re-

[a] See Let. 36. of this book.

requires my attendance at Rome, (which in winter very frequently happens) inftead of having interludes or mufic after fupper, I meditate upon what I have dictated, and by often revifing it in my own mind, fix it in my memory. Thus I have given you my fcheme of life in fummer and winter; to which you may add the intermediate feafons of fpring and autumn. As at thofe times I lofe nothing of the day, fo I ftudy but little in the night. Farewel.

BOOK the TENTH,

Containing the

LETTERS

OF

PLINY to TRAJAN,

AND OF

TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

BOOK X.

LETTER [a] *I. To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE generous affection you bore, most pious Emperor, to your august father, made you wish it might be late ere you succeeded

[a] The greater part of the following letters, were written by Pliny during his administration in the province of Bithynia. They are of a stile and character extremely different from those in the preceding collection; whence some critics have injudiciously infer'd, that they are the production of another hand: not considering, that the occasion necessarily required a different *manner*. In letters of business, as these chiefly are, *turn* and *sentiment* would be foreign and impertinent; politeness and elegance of expression being the essentials that constitute perfection in this kind: and in that view, tho' they may be less entertaining, they have not less merit than the former. But besides their particular excellence as letters, they have a farther recommendation as so many valuable pieces of history, by throwing a strong light upon the character of one of the most amiable and glorious princes in the Roman annals. Trajan appears throughout, in the most striking attitude that majesty can be placed; in the exertion of power to the godlike purposes of justice and benevolence: and what one of the ancient histo-

ed him. But the immortal Gods thought proper to haſten the advancement of thoſe virtues to the helm of the commonwealth, which had already ſo ſucceſsfully ſhared in the conduct of it [a]. May you then, and the world through your means, enjoy every proſperity worthy of your times: to which let me add my wiſhes, moſt excellent Emperor, upon a private as well as public account, that your health and ſpirits may be preſerved firm and unbroken.

LETTER II. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

YOU have occaſioned me, Sir, [b] an inexpreſſible pleaſure, by thinking me worthy of enjoying the privilege which the laws confer on thoſe who have

rians has ſaid of him, is here clearly verified, that "*he rather choſe to be lov'd than flatter'd by his people.*" To have been diſtinguiſhed by the favor and friendſhip of a monarch of ſo exalted a character, is an honor that reflects the brighteſt luſtre upon our author; as to have been ſerved and celebrated by a courtier of Pliny's genius and virtues, is the nobleſt monument of glory that could have been raiſed to Trajan.

[a] Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian, reigned but ſixteen months and a few days. Before his death he not only adopted Trajan, and named him for his ſucceſſor, but actually admitted him into a ſhare of the government; giving him the titles of *Cæſar*, *Germanicus*, and *Imperator*. Vid. Plin. Paneg.

[b] The tranſlator has ventured to render the appellative *Dominus*, by that of, *Sir*, not becauſe he is ſatisfied with the ſtrict propriety of the title, but as thinking it leſs exceptionable than any other our language affords. That Pliny could not intend it as a title of royalty, ſeems evident from ſeveral paſſages in his panegyric, where whenever he uſes it in that ſenſe, he conſtantly includes in it a notion of tyranny. [Vid. Paneg. XLV. No. 4. LV. No. 7. LXXXV. No. 1.] Accordingly

have three children. For tho' it was an indulgence to the request of your very affectionate and worthy friend Servilianus, that you granted this favor; yet I have the satisfaction to find by the words of your rescript, that you complied the more willingly, as his application was in my behalf. I cannot but look upon myself as in possession of my utmost wish, after having thus received, at the entrance of your auspicious government, so distinguishing a mark of your peculiar favor; at the same time that it considerably heightens my desire of leaving a family behind me. I was not without this inclination even in those most wretched times[c]: as my two marriages will easily incline you to believe. But the Gods decreed it better, by reserving every valuable privilege to the bounty of your generous dispensations. And indeed the pleasure of being a father will be so much more acceptable to me *now*, that I can enjoy it in full freedom and security.

ingly we find Augustus refusing the title of *Dominus*, as conveying an odious idea: *Ut maledictum & opprobrium semper exhorruit.* [Suet. in Aug. c. 53.] Besides, the high stile of royalty would ill suit with that air of freedom and equality, which so remarkably distinguishes these letters of Pliny to Trajan; and the graceful simplicity of the Roman Consul's address, would be lost in the servile forms of a modern courtier. But it appears from a passage in Seneca, that the Romans used the word *Dominus* as a general title of respect: *obvios, si nomen non succurrit,* Dominos *appellamus*.--[Sen. ep. 3.] And in that lower sense Pliny, it should seem, here employs it.

[c] Alluding to the execrable reign of Domitian.

LETTER III. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE ample experience, Sir, I have had of your unbounded generoſity to me, in my own perſon, encourages me to hope I may be yet farther obliged to it, in favor of my friends. Voconius Romanus (who lives and was bred up with me) claims the firſt rank in that number; in conſequence of which I petitioned your ſacred father to promote him to the dignity of the Senatorial order. But the completion of my requeſt is reſerved to your goodneſs; for his mother had not then advanced, in the manner the law directs, the four hundred thouſand [a] ſeſterces

[a] In the original it is, *ſeſtertii quadringinties*, that is, about 320,000l. ſterling; a ſum ſo immoderate, that the commentators have ſuſpected (and with great reaſon) ſome error muſt have crept into the text. Buchnerus and Gronovius imagine it ſhould be read *quaterdecies* or *quadragies*; but this ſeems to be ſtill carrying it much too high. The *cenſus ſenatorius*, or the eſtate requiſite to qualify a man to be a member of the ſenate, was, after different regulations, ſettled at length by Auguſtus at 1200,000 ſeſterces, equal to about 9600l. of our money. It probably ſtood thus in Pliny's time; for as it appears by the 19th letter of the firſt book that the *cenſus equeſtris* was 400,000 ſeſterces, which is juſt the ſum we find it at in the reign of Auguſtus; ſo it will not, perhaps, be unreaſonable to infer from thence, that the *cenſus ſenatorius* had not yet undergone any alteration ſince the time of that emperor, as they ſeem

ſterces which ſhe engaged to give him, in her letter to the Emperor your late father: This, however, by my advice ſhe has ſince done, having conveyed to him a ſufficient eſtate in land, with all the neceſſary formalities. The difficulties therefore being removed which deferred our wiſhes, it is with full confidence I venture to aſſure you of the merit of my friend Romanus, heighten'd and adorn'd as it is, not only by the liberal and polite arts, but by his extraordinary tenderneſs to his parents. It is to that virtue he owes the preſent liberality of his mother; as well as his immediate [b] ſucceſſion to his late father's eſtate, and his having been adopted by his father-in-law. To theſe perſonal qualifications, the wealth and rank of his family give an increaſe of luſtre; as I

ſeem to have borne a certain proportion to each other. For theſe reaſons therefore, both the common reading, and the emendation of the above-mentioned critics, is rejected in the tranſlation, and the conjecture of a late * editor adopted, who ſuppoſes it might be *quadringentorum millium*, 400,000 ſeſterces, or about, 3200l. of our money. It has been diſputed, whether by this *cenſus ſenatorius* we are to underſtand the yearly income of the eſtate, or only the entire value of it: but the moſt generally received opinion is, that it means the latter, both real and perſonal.

[b] Meaning, perhaps, that tho' he was under age when his father died, yet he had ſo much confidence in the prudence of Romanus, that he did not appoint him, as uſual, a guardian by his will; but left him to the immediate poſſeſſion of his eſtate.

* Geſnerus.

persuade myself it will be some additional recommendation to your favor, that I solicit in his behalf. Let me then intreat you, Sir, to put it in my power to congratulate Romanus, on an occasion so highly agreeable to me; and at the same time to gratify an eager, and I hope a laudable ambition of being able to boast, that your favorable regards are extended, not only to myself, but also to my friend.

LETTER IV. [XX.][a] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHEN by your gracious indulgence, Sir, I was promoted to the head of the [b] treasury of Saturn, I immediately renounced all engage-

[a] *N. B.* The following letters to the 30th, are not ranged in the same order as they are placed in any of the Latin editions; the translator having taken the liberty of changing their situation, for the sake of bringing some letters together which throw a light upon each other. The figures included between this mark [ ] refer to the order in which they commonly stand.

[b] The public treasure was kept in the temple of Saturn, where the spoils of the conquered nations were deposited. Julius Cæsar seized upon this temple in the time of the civil war; and what an immense wealth that threw into his hands, may be judged by the elegant description which Lucan gives of the riches it contained:

——— *tunc*

engagements of the bar, (as indeed I never blended bufinefs of that kind with the functions of the ftate) that no avocations might call off my attention from the

——tunc conditus imo
Eruitur templis, multis intactus ab annis
Romani cenfus populi, &c.

Lucan. iii. 155.

At length the facred ftorehoufe open laid,
The hoarded wealth of ages paft difplay'd:
There might be feen the fums proud Carthage fent,
Her long impending ruin to prevent;
There heap'd the Macedonian treafures fhone,
What great Flaminius and Æmilius won
From vanquifh'd Philip, and his helplefs fon.
There lay what flying Pyrrhus loft, the gold
Scorn'd by the * patriot's honefty of old;
Whate'er our parfimonious fires could fave:
What tributary gifts rich Syria gave;
The hundred Cretan cities ample fpoil;
What Cato gather'd from the Cyprian ifle.
Riches of captive kings by Pompey borne
In happier days his triumph to adorn,
From utmoft India, and the rifing morn;
Wealth infinite!

Rowe.

Pliny the elder has given a † particular account of this treafure which Cæfar feized, both in gold and filver plate and in coin; the amount of which, according to Dr. Arbuthnot's computation, is,----1,093,979l. 3 s. 4 d. But if there is no miftake in thefe fums, Cæfar did not take away by far fo much as he brought in; for Plutarch relates ‖, that he placed at one time in the treafury 65,000 talents; which, according to the fame ingenious author's calculation, is equivalent to 12,593,750 pounds. Arb. Tab. 191.

* Fabricius. † Hift. Nat. l. 33. c. 3. ‖ In vit. Cæfar.

the poſt to which I was appointed. For this reaſon when the people of Africa petitioned that I might undertake their cauſe againſt Marius Priſcus, I excuſed myſelf from that office; and accordingly my excuſe was admitted. But when afterwards, the conſul elect propoſed, that the ſenate ſhould apply to us again, and endeavor to prevail with us to yield to its inclinations, and ſuffer our names to be thrown into the [a] urn, I thought it moſt ſuitable to that tranquility and good order which ſo happily diſtinguiſhes your times, not to oppoſe (eſpecially in ſo reaſonable an article) the will of that auguſt aſſembly. And, as I am deſirous that all my words and actions may be approved by your exemplary virtue, I hope you will think my compliance was proper.

[a] Other ſenators, as well as Pliny, had excuſed themſelves, it ſeems, from undertaking the management of this cauſe: it was propoſed therefore, that they ſhould caſt lots; which is the meaning of "ſuffering their names to be thrown into an urn;" an urn being made uſe of in deciſions of this kind. Accordingly the lot fell upon our author, and his great friend the famous Cornelius Tacitus. See B. 2. let. 11. where there is a full account of this trial.

LET-

LETTER V. [xxi.] *The Emperor* TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU acted as became a good citizen and a worthy senator, by paying obedience to the just injunctions of that august assembly: and I have full confidence you will faithfully discharge the part you have undertaken.

LETTER VI. [iv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

HAving been attacked last year by a severe and dangerous illness, I employed a [a] physician, whose care and diligence, Sir, I cannot sufficiently reward, but by your gracious assistance. I intreat you therefore to make him a [b] denizen of Rome; for as he is the freedman of a foreigner, he is, consequently, himself also a foreigner. His name is Har-

[a] The physicians among the antients were distinguished according to the particular branch of practice to which they confined themselves. The physician here mentioned, Pliny calls *Iatraliptes*, that is, one who applied external unctions.

[b] There was a difference between the *Jus Civitatis* and the *Jus Quiritium*; the former not extending to the same privileges as the latter, which comprehended whatever advantages a free native of Rome was entitled to; just in the same manner as with us there is a distinction between denization and naturalization.

Harpocras; his patroneſs (who has been dead a conſiderable time) was Thermuthis the daughter of Theon. I farther intreat you to beſtow the full privileges of a Roman citizen upon Helia and Antonia Harmeris the freedwomen of Antonia Maximilla, a lady of great merit. It is at her deſire [a] I make this requeſt.

LETTER VII. [xxii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Return you thanks, Sir, for your ready compliance with my deſire, in granting the complete privileges of a Roman, to the freedwomen of a lady to whom I am allied, and making Harpocras my phyſician a denizen of Rome. But when, agreeable to your directions, I gave in an account of his age and eſtate, I was informed by thoſe who are better ſkilled in theſe affairs than I pretend to be, that as he is an Egyptian, I ought firſt to have obtained for him the freedom of Alexandria, before he was made free of Rome. I confeſs, indeed, as I was ignorant of any difference in this caſe between thoſe

[a] Pliny mentions his requeſt to be at the particular deſire of Maximilla, becauſe nothing of this kind could legally be granted to a freedman, without the conſent of his patron; a name which was given to the maſter of a ſlave who had been made free.

those of [a] Egypt and other countries, I contented myself with only acquainting you, that he had been manumized by a foreign lady, long since deceased. However, it is an ignorance I cannot regret, since it affords me an opportunity of receiving from you a double obligation in favor of the same person. That I may legally therefore enjoy the benefit of your goodness, I beg you would be pleased to grant him the freedom of the city of Alexandria, as well as that of Rome. And that your gracious intentions may not meet with any farther obstacles, I have taken care, as you directed, to send an account to your freedman of his age and fortunes.

LETTER VIII. [xxiii.] *The Emperor* TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is my resolution, in pursuance of the maxim observed by the princes my predecessors, to be extremely cautious in granting the freedom of the city

[a] Upon what occasion the honor of this peculiar distinction was granted in favor of Alexandria does not appear; possibly it might be in gratitude to a country to which the Romans were so highly obliged, being supplied with the greatest part of their corn from Egypt. This city, founded by Alexander the great, was esteemed the most considerable in the world next to that of Rome. It is now called *Scanderick*.

city of Alexandria: however, ſince you have obtained of me the freedom of Rome for your phyſician Harpocras, I cannot refuſe you this other requeſt. You muſt let me know to what diſtrict he belongs, that I may give you a letter to my good friend Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

LETTER IX. [v.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I CANNOT expreſs, Sir, the pleaſure your letter gave me, by which I am informed that you have made my phyſician Harpocras a denizen of Alexandria; notwithſtanding your reſolution to follow the maxim of your predeceſſors in this point, by being extremely cautious in granting that privilege. Agreeably to your directions, I acquaint you that Harpocras belongs to the diſtrict of [a] Memphis. I intreat you then, moſt gracious Emperor, to ſend me, as you promiſed, a letter to your good friend Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

As I purpoſe (in order to have the earlieſt enjoyment of your preſence, ſo ardently wiſhed for here) to come to meet you; I beg, Sir, you would permit me to extend my journey as far as poſſible.

[a] One of the four governments of Lower Egypt.

LETTER X. [vi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Was greatly obliged, Sir, in my late indiſpoſition, to Poſthumius Marinus, my phyſician; and I can only make him a ſuitable return, by the aſſiſtance of your gracious indulgence. I intreat you then to make Chryſippus Mithridates and his wife Stratonica, (who are related to Marinus) denizens of Rome. I implore likewiſe the ſame privilege in favor of Epigonus and Mithridates, the two ſons of Chryſippus; but in ſuch manner, [a] that they may be under the dominion of their father, and yet

[a] The extenſive power of paternal authority, was (as has been obſerved in the notes above) peculiar to the Romans. But after Chryſippus was made a denizen of Rome, he was not, it ſhould ſeem, conſequentially entitled to that privilege over thoſe children which were born before his denization. On the other hand, if it was expreſsly granted him, his children could not preſerve their right of patronage over their own freedmen, becauſe that right would of courſe devolve to their father, by means of this acquired dominion over them. The denization therefore of his children, is as expreſsly ſolicited as his own. But both parties becoming *Quirites*, the children by this creation, and not pleading in right of their father, would be *patres fam.* To prevent which the clauſe is added, *ita ut ſint in patris poteſtate*; as there is another to ſave to them their rights of patronage over their freedmen, tho' they were reduced *in patriam poteſtatem*.

yet preserve their right of patronage over their own freedmen. I farther intreat you to grant the full privileges of a Roman to L. Satrius Abascantius, P. Cæsius Phosphorus, and Pancharia Soteris. This request I make with the consent of their patrons.

LETTER XI. [xxiv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AFTER your late sacred father, Sir, had, in a noble speech, as well as by his own generous example, exhorted and encouraged the public to acts of munificence; I implored his permission to remove the several statues which I had of the former emperors, to [a] my corporation; and at the same time begged the liberty of adding his own to the number. For as I had hitherto continued them in the respective places wherein they stood when they were left to me by several different inheritances, they were dispersed in distant parts of my estate. He was pleased to grant my request, and at the same time to give me a very ample testimony of

[a] It is highly probable, upon comparing Let. 4. B. 3. and Let. 1. B. 4. that by the corporation here mentioned, Pliny means *Tifernum Tiberinum*, or *Citta di Castella*, as it is now called; which city had put itself under his patronage and protection.

of his approbation. I immediately therefore wrote to the Decurii, that they would allot a piece of ground, upon which I might build a temple at my own expence; but as a mark of honor to my design, they offered me the choice of any site I thought proper. However my own indisposition in the first place, and afterward that of your father, together with the duties of that post with which you were both pleased to intrust me, prevented my going on with that design. But I have now, I think, a convenient opportunity of making an excursion for that purpose, as my monthly [b] attendance ends on the first of September, and there are several festivals in the month following. My first request then is, that you would permit me to adorn the temple I am going to erect, with your statue; and next (in order to execute my design with all the expedition possible) that you would indulge me with leave of absence. It would ill become the sincerity I profess, were I to dissemble, that your goodness in complying with this desire, will at the same time be extremely serviceable to me in my own private affairs. It is

[b] Pliny enjoyed the office of treasurer in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus: It was the custom at Rome for those who had collegues to administer the duties of their posts by monthly turns. *Buchnerus.*

is abſolutely neceſſary I ſhould not defer any longer the letting of my lands in that province; for, beſides that they amount to above [c] four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, the time for dreſſing the vineyards is approaching, and *that* care muſt fall upon my new tenants. The badneſs of the ſeaſon likewiſe for ſeveral years paſt, obliges me to think of making ſome abatements in my rents; which I cannot poſſibly ſettle unleſs I am preſent. I ſhall be indebted then to your indulgence, Sir, both as forwarding this public act of piety, and giving me the opportunity of ſettling my private affairs, if you will be pleaſed to grant me [d] leave to be abſent for thirty days. I cannot limit a ſhorter time,

[c] About 3200l. ſterling; the annual income of Pliny's eſtate in Tuſcany. He mentions another near Comum in the dutchy of Milan, the yearly value of which does not appear. We find him likewiſe conſidering about the purchaſe of an eſtate, for which he wants to give about 24,000l. of our money; but whether he ever completed that purchaſe, is uncertain. [See Book 3. let. 19.] This however we are ſure of, that his fortunes were but moderate, conſidering his high ſtation and neceſſary expences: [See Book 2. let. 4.] and yet, by the advantage of a judicious œconomy, we have ſeen him in the courſe of theſe letters, exerciſing a liberality, of which after-ages have furniſhed no parallel.

[d] The ſenators were not allowed to go from Rome into the provinces, without having firſt obtained leave of the Emperor. Sicily, however, had the privilege to be excepted out of that law; as Gallia Narbonenſis afterwards was, by Claudius Cæſar. Tacit. Ann. 12. c. 23.

time, as the town and the eſtate of which I am ſpeaking, lie above an hundred and fifty miles from Rome.

LETTER XII. [xxv.] TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOU have given me many reaſons both of a public and private nature, why you deſire leave to be abſent; but I need no other than that it is your inclination: and I doubt not of your returning as ſoon as poſſible to the duty of an office, which ſo much requires your attendance. As I would not ſeem to check any inſtance of your affection towards me, I ſhall not oppoſe your erecting my ſtatue in the place you mention; tho' in general I am extremely cautious in giving any encouragement to honors of that kind.

LETTER XIII. [viii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AS I am ſenſible, Sir, that the higheſt applauſe my actions can receive, is to be diſtinguiſhed by ſo excellent a Prince; I beg you would be graciouſly pleaſed to add either the

office of Augur or [a] Septemvir (both which are now vacant) to the dignity I already enjoy by your indulgence; that I may have the satisfaction of publicly offering up those vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the Gods in private, from the affection of my heart.

LETTER XIV. [xxvi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

HAving safely passed the promontory of [b] Malea, I am arrived at [c] Ephesus with all my train, notwithstanding I was detained for some time by contrary winds: an information, Sir, in which, I trust, you will think yourself concerned. I design to pursue the remainder of my journey to the [d] province, partly in light vessels, and

[a] One of the seven priests who presided over the feasts appointed in honor of Jupiter and the other Gods: an office, as appears, of high dignity, since Pliny ranks it with the Augurship: of which see B. 4. let. 8. note [a].

[b] In the Peloponnensus; now called Capo Malea di-sant-Angelo. Catanæus observes, this passage was so dangerous, that the antients had a proverb, *cum Maleam deflexeris, domesticos obliviscere*; "the man that sails by Malea must think no "more of his family."

[c] A city of Ionia, in Asia the less, still remaining.

[d] Bithynia, a province in Anatolia, or Asia the less, of which Pliny was appointed governor by Trajan, in the 6th year

and partly in poſt-chaiſes: for as the exceſſive heats will prevent my travelling altogether by land, ſo the Eteſian [e] winds, which are now ſet-in, will not permit me to proceed entirely by ſea.

LETTER XV. [xxvii.] TRAJAN to PLINY.

YOUR information, my dear Pliny, was extremely agreeable to me; as it is much my concern to know in what manner you arrive at your province. I well approve of your intention to travel either by ſea or land, as you ſhall find moſt convenient.

LETTER XVI. [xxviii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AS I had a very favorable voyage to Epheſus, ſo in travelling poſt from thence I was extremely incommoded by the heats, which

year of his reign, A. D. 103. not as an ordinary Proconſul, but as that emperor's own Lieutenant, with extraordinary powers. [See D.o.] The following letters were written during his adminiſtration of that province.

[e] A north wind in the Grecian ſeas, which riſes yearly ſome time in July, and continues to the end of Auguſt; tho' others extend it to the middle of September. They blow only in the day-time. Varenius's Geogr. v. 1. p. 513.

which threw me into a fever, and kept me ſome time at [a] Pergamum. From thence, Sir, I took ſhip again; but being detained by contrary winds, I did not arrive at Bithynia ſo ſoon as I hoped [b]. However I have no reaſon to complain of this delay, ſince (which indeed was the moſt auſpicious circumſtance that could attend me) I reached the province in time to celebrate your birth-day. I am at preſent engaged in examining into the finances of the [c] Pruſenſes, their diſburſements and credits; and the farther I proceed in this affair, the more I am convinced of the neceſſity of my enquiry. Several large ſums of money are owing to the city from private perſons, which they neglect to pay upon various pretences; as on the other hand, I find the public funds are, in ſome inſtances, very unwarrantably applied. This, Sir, I write to you immediately on my ar-

[a] The famous Troy, ſituated in that part of Aſia, which is now called Romania.

[b] The original adds, *id eſt*, xv. *Calend. Octobris*, which ſeems to have crept into the text from the marginal annotation of ſome gloſſariſt; for as Pliny mentions the time of his arrival a little lower, there is no occaſion for it in this place; and it is not agreeable to his uſual elegant conciſeneſs, to repeat that circumſtance twice in the ſame letter. Or perhaps here are two diſtinct letters run into one by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers; the former ending with *Hæc*, &c. *in ipſo ingreſſu meo ſcripſi*; the latter beginning with *Quintodecimo Calend. &c.*

[c] Pruſa, a maritime city in Bithynia, ſuppoſed by ſome geographers to be the ſame which is now called *Cheris*; famous for producing great quantities of cherries, which take their name from thence.

arrival. I entered this province on the 17th of [d] September, and found it in thoſe ſentiments of obedience and loyalty, which you juſtly merit from all mankind. You will conſider, Sir, whether it would not be proper to ſend hither a ſurveyor; for I am inclined to think, much might be deducted from what is charged by thoſe who have the conduct of the public works, if a faithful admeaſurement were to be taken: at leaſt I am of that opinion from what I have already ſeen of the accounts of this city, which I am now examining, with the aſſiſtance of Maximus.

LETTER XVII. [xxix.] TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Should have rejoiced to have hear'd that you arrived at Bithynia without inconvenience to yourſelf or any of your train; and that your journey from Epheſus had been as eaſy, as your voyage to that place was favorable. For the reſt, your letter informs me, my dear Pliny, what day you reached Bithynia. The people of that province

[d] In the ſixth year of Trajan's Reign, A. D. 103. and the 41ſt of our author's age: he continued in this province about 18 months. Vid. Maſſ. in vit. Plin. 129.

vince will be convinced, I persuade myself, that I am attentive to their interest; as your conduct towards them will make it manifest, that I could have chosen no person more proper to supply my place. Your first inquiry ought, no doubt, to turn upon the state of the public finances; for that they have been abused, is but too evident. I have scarce surveyors enough to inspect those [a] works which I am carrying on at Rome, and in the neighbourhood: but persons of integrity and skill in this art may be found, most certainly, in every province; so that you cannot be at a loss in that point, if you will make due enquiry.

LETTER XVIII. [vii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THO' I am well assured, Sir, that you, who never forget any opportunity of exerting your generosity, are not unmindful of the request I lately

[a] Among other noble works which this glorious Emperor executed, the Forum, or square, which went by his name, seems to have been the most magnificent. It was built with the foreign spoils he had taken in war. The covering of this edifice was all brass, the porticos exceeding beautiful and magnificent, with pillars of more than ordinary height and dimensions. In the center of this Forum was erected the famous pillar which has been already described. See B. 8. let. 4. not. [a]

lately made you; yet ſince you have frequently, among many other inſtances of your indulgence, permitted me to repeat my ſolicitations to you, I do ſo now on behalf of Accius Sura; and I earneſtly beſeech you to honor him with the Prætorſhip, which is at preſent vacant. Tho' his ambition is extremely moderate, yet the quality of his birth, the inflexible integrity which he has ſhewn in a fortune below mediocrity, and, above all, the happineſs of your times, which gives courage to conſcious virtue to claim the indulgence of your favor, prompts him to hope he may experience it in this inſtance.

LETTER XIX. [ix.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Congratulate both you and the public, moſt excellent Emperor, upon the great and glorious victory you have obtained; ſo agreeable to the heroiſm of ancient Rome. May the immortal Gods give the ſame happy ſucceſs to all your deſigns, that, under the adminiſtration of ſo many princely virtues, the ſplendor of the empire may

shine out, not only in its former, but with additional lustre[a].

LETTER XX. [x.] *To the* *Emperor* TRAJAN.

MY lieutenant Servilius Pudens came to [b] Nicomedia, Sir, on the 24th of November; and by his arrival freed me, at last, from the solicitude of a very uneasy expectation.

LETTER XXI. [xi.] *To the* *Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOUR generosity to me, Sir, was the occasion of uniting me to Rosianus Geminus, by the strongest ties; for he was my [c] Quæstor when I was Consul. His behavior to me during the continuance of our offices, was highly respectful; and he has treated me ever since with so peculiar a regard, that besides the many obligations I owe

[a] It is probable the victory here alluded to, was that famous one which Trajan gained over the Dacians; some account of which has been given in the notes above. It is certain at least, Pliny lived to see his wish accomplished, this Emperor having carried the Roman splendor to its highest pitch, and extended the dominions of the empire farther than any of his predecessors; as after his death it began to decline.

[b] Now called Comedia, the capital city of Bithynia.

[c] See note [a], p. 220.

I owe him upon a public account, I am indebted to him for the ſtrongeſt pledges of private friendſhip. I intreat you then to comply with my requeſt for the advancement of one, whom (if my recommendation has any weight) you will even honor with your particular favor; as whatever truſt you ſhall repoſe in him, he will endeavor to ſhew himſelf ſtill deſerving of an higher. But I forbear to enter into a more particular detail of his merit; being perſuaded, his integrity, his probity and his vigilance are well known to you, not only from thoſe high poſts which he has exerciſed in Rome within your immediate inſpection; but from his behavior when he ſerved under you in the army. One thing, however, my affection for him inclines me to think I have not yet ſufficiently done; and therefore, Sir, I repeat my intreaties to you, that you will give me the pleaſure, as early as poſſible, of rejoicing in the honorable advancement of my Quæſtor; or, in other words, of receiving an addition to my own dignity, in the perſon of my friend.

LETTER XXII. [xii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IT is not eaſy, Sir, to expreſs the joy I receiv-ed, when I hear'd you had, in compliance with the requeſt of my [a] mother-in-law and my ſelf, granted Cœlius Clemens the Proconſulſhip of this [b] province after the expiration of his conſular office; as it is from thence I learn the full extent of your beneficence towards me, which thus graciouſly ſpreads itſelf thro' my whole family. I dare not pretend to make an equal return to thoſe obligations, I ſo juſtly owe you. I can only therefore have recourſe to vows, and ardently implore the Gods, that I may not be found unworthy of thoſe favors, which you are continually beſtowing upon me.

[a] Pompeia Celerina.
[b] Bithynia.

LET-

LETTER XXIII. [xiii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Received, Sir, a diſpatch from your freedman Lycormas, deſiring me, if any embaſſy from [a] Boſphorus ſhould come hither in the way to Rome, that I would detain it till his arrival. None has yet arrived; at leaſt in the [b] city where I am. But a courier paſſing thro' this place from the king of [c] Sarmatia, I lay hold of that opportunity which accidentally offers itſelf, of ſending with him the meſſenger which Lycormas diſpatched hither; that you might be informed by both their letters of what, perhaps, it may be neceſſary you ſhould be acquainted with at one and the ſame time.

[a] Boſphorus Cimerius, now called *Voſpero,* in Krim Tartary.

[b] Nicea (as appears by the 15th Let. of this B.) a city in Bithynia, now called Iſmich.

[c] Sarmatia was divided into European, Aſiatic, and German Sarmatia. It is not exactly known what bounds the antients gave to this extenſive region; however, in general, it comprehended the northern parts of Ruſſia, Muſcovy, leſſer Tartary, and the greateſt part of the kingdom of Poland, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER XXIV. [xiv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Am informed by a letter from the king of Sarmatia, that ſome affairs have happened which require your immediate knowledge. With deſign therefore to expedite the diſpatches which his courier was charged with to you, I granted him an order to make uſe of the public poſt [a].

[a] The firſt invention of public couriers is aſcribed to Cyrus, who, in order to receive the earlieſt intelligence from the governors of the ſeveral provinces, * erected poſt-houſes throughout the kingdom of Perſia, at equal diſtances, which ſupplied men and horſes to forward the public diſpatches. Auguſtus † was the firſt who introduced this moſt uſeful inſtitution among the Romans, by employing poſt-chaiſes, diſpoſed at convenient diſtances, for the purpoſe of political intelligence. The magiſtrates of every city were obliged to furniſh ‡ horſes for theſe meſſengers, upon producing a *diploma*, or a kind of warrant, either from the emperor himſelf, or from thoſe who had that authority under him. Sometimes, tho' upon very extraordinary occaſions, perſons who travelled upon their private affairs, were allowed the uſe of theſe poſt-chaiſes. [See Let. 121. of this Book.] It is ſurpriſing they were not ſooner uſed for the purpoſes of commerce and private communication, Louis XI. firſt eſtabliſhed them in France, in the year 1474; but it was not till the 12th of Car. II. ‖ that the poſt-office was ſettled in England by act of Parliament.

* Cyrop. l. 8. p. 496. edit. Hutchinſon.
† Suet. in vit. Aug. c. 49.
‡ Plutarch. in vit. Galbæ.
‖ Rapin, vol. 2. 662. fol. ed.

LETTER XXV. [xv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE embaſſador from the king of Sarmatia having voluntarily ſtaid two days at Nicea, where he found me, I did not think it reaſonable, Sir, to detain him any longer: not only becauſe it was ſtill uncertain when your freedman Lycormas would arrive, but as ſome indiſpenſible affairs require my preſence in a different part of the province. Of this I thought it neceſſary that you ſhould be informed, becauſe I lately acquainted you in a letter, that Lycormas had deſired, if any embaſſy ſhould come this way from Boſphorus, that I would detain it till his arrival. But I did not ſee there was any pretence of retarding him any longer; eſpecially as the diſpatches from Lycormas which (as I mentioned before) I was not willing to detain, would probably reach you ſome days ſooner than this embaſſador.

LETTER XXVI. [xvi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Received a letter, Sir, from Apuleius, an officer in the army, belonging to the garrifon at Nicomedia, informing me that one Callidromus being arrefted by Maximus and Dionyfius, (two perfons who exercife the trade of bakers, to whom he had hired himfelf) fled for refuge to your [a] ftatue: that being brought before a magiftrate, he declared he was formerly flave to Laberius Maximus; but being taken prifoner by [b] Sufagus in Mœfia, [c] he was fent as a prefent from Decebalus to Pacorus king of Parthia, in whofe fervice he continued feveral years, from whence he made his efcape, and came to Nicomedia. When he was examined before me, he confirmed this ac-

[a] Particular temples, altars, and ftatues were allowed among the Romans as places of privilege and fanctuary to flaves, debtors, and malefactors. This cuftom was introduced by Romulus, who borrowed it probably from the Greeks; but during the free ftate of Rome, few of thefe Afylums were permitted. This cuftom prevailed moft under the Emperors, till it grew fo fcandalous, that the Emperor Pius found it neceffary to reftrain thofe privileged places by an edict. See Lipfii excurf. ad Taciti an. 3. c. 36.

[b] General under Decebalus.

[c] A province in Dacia, comprehending the fouthern parts of Servia, and part of Bulgaria.

account; for which reaſon I thought it neceſſary to [d] ſend him to you. This I ſhould have done ſooner, but I deferr'd his journey in order to make an inquiry after a gem which he ſaid was taken from him, upon which was engraven the figure of Pacorus in his royal habit: I was deſirous (if it could have been found) of tranſmitting this curioſity to you at the ſame time; as I have a ſmall ingot of Parthian gold, which he ſays he brought from thence out of the mines. I have fixed my ſeal to it, the impreſſion of which is, a chariot drawn by four horſes.

LETTER XXVII. [xvii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOUR freedman and [a] procurator, Maximus, behaved, Sir, during all the time we were together, with great probity, care and diligence; as one ſtrongly attached to your intereſt, and ſtrictly obſervant of diſcipline. This teſtimony I willingly give him; and I do it with all the fidelity I owe you.

[d] The ſecond expedition of Trajan againſt Decebalus, was undertaken the ſame year that Pliny went governor into this province: the reaſon therefore why Pliny ſent this Callidromus to the Emperor ſeems to be, that ſome uſe might poſſibly be made of him in favor of that deſign.

[a] Receiver of the finances.

LETTER XXVIII. [xviii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AFTER having experienced, Sir, in Gabius Baſſus, who commands on the frontiers of [a] Pontica, the greateſt integrity, honor, and vigilance, as well as the moſt particular reſpect to myſelf, I cannot refuſe him my beſt wiſhes and ſuffrage; and I give them to him with all that fidelity which is due to you. I have found him abundantly qualified by having ſerved in the army under you; and it is owing to the advantages of your diſcipline, that he has learned to merit the honor of your favor. The ſoldiery and the people here, who have had full experience of his juſtice and humanity, endeavor to rival each other in that glorious teſtimony they give of him, as well in public as in private; and I certify this with all the ſincerity you have a right to expect from me.

[a] Krim Tartary.

LETTER XXIX. [xix.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

NYmphidius[a] Lupus, Sir, and myſelf ſerved in the army together; he commanded a body of the auxiliary forces at the ſame time that I was military tribune: and it was from thence my affection for him began. A long acquaintance hath ſince mutually endeared and ſtrengthen'd our friendſhip. For this reaſon I did violence to his repoſe, and inſiſted upon his attending me into Bithynia, as my aſſeſſor in council. He moſt readily granted me this proof of his friendſhip; and without any regard to the plea of age, or the eaſe of retirement, he ſhared with me the fatigue of buſineſs; and upon all occaſions is ſtill ready to give me his aſſiſtance. I look upon his relations therefore as my own; in which number Nymphidius Lupus, his ſon, claims my particular notice. He is a youth of great merit and indefatigable application; and in every view of his character, well worthy of ſo excellent a father. That

[a] The text calls him *Primipilarem*, that is, one who had been *Primipilus*, an officer in the army, whoſe poſt was both highly honorable and profitable: among other parts of his office he had the care of the Eagle, or chief ſtandard of the legion.

he is equal to any honor you ſhall think proper to confer upon him, the early proof he gave of his qualifications, when he commanded the troops of the allies, will eaſily convince you; as it gained him the full applauſe of thoſe moſt illuſtrious perſonages Julius Ferox, and Fuſcus Salinator. And I will add, Sir, that any increaſe of dignity which he ſhall receive, will be an occaſion of particular congratulation to myſelf.

LETTER XXX. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Beg your determination, Sir, in a point wherein I am greatly doubtful: it is, whether I ſhould place the public ſlaves [a] as centinels round the priſons of the ſeveral cities in this province (as has been hitherto the practice) or employ a party of ſoldiers for that purpoſe? On the one hand, I am afraid the public ſlaves will not attend this duty with the fidelity they ought; and on the other, that it will engage too large a body of the ſoldiery: in the mean while I have joined a few of the latter with the former. I ſuſpect however, there may be ſome danger that this method will occaſion a general neglect of duty, as it will afford

[a] Slaves who were purchaſed by the public.

ford them a mutual pretence of throwing the blame upon each other.

LETTER XXXI. Trajan *to* Pliny.

THERE is no occaſion, my dear Pliny, to draw off any [a] ſoldiers in order to guard the priſons. Let us rather perſevere in the ancient cuſtoms obſerved by this province, of employing the public ſlaves for that purpoſe: and the fidelity with which they ſhall execute their duty will depend much upon your care and ſtrict diſcipline. It is greatly to be feared, as you obſerve, if the ſoldiers ſhould be mixed with the public ſlaves, they will mutually truſt to each other, and by that means grow ſo much the more negligent. But the principal objection I have, is, that as few ſoldiers as poſſible ſhould be called off from their colors.

a In the original it is *Commilitones*, "my fellow ſoldiers:" an appellation which thoſe Emperors who deſired to be well with the army affected to uſe. Suetonius informs us, that Auguſtus would never employ that expreſſion, as thinking it a condeſcenſion unbecoming his dignity; and neither ſuitable to the tranquillity of the times, nor to military diſcipline.

LETTER XXXII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

GAbius Baſſus, who commands upon the frontiers of Pontica, in a manner ſuitable to the reſpect and duty which he owes you, has been with me, Sir, for ſeveral days. As far as I could obſerve, he is a perſon of great merit and worthy of your favor. I acquainted him it was your order that he ſhould retain only ten [a] beneficiary ſoldiers, two horſe-guards, and one captain out of the troops which you were pleaſed to aſſign to my command. He aſſured me theſe would not be ſufficient for him, and that he would write to you upon this head: for which reaſon I did not immediately upon your directions, recall his ſupernumeraries.

[a] The moſt probable conjecture (for it is a point of a good deal of obſcurity) concerning the *Beneficiarii*, ſeems to be, that they were a certain number of ſoldiers exempted from the uſual duty of their office, in order to be employed as a ſort of body-guards to the General. Theſe were probably foot; as the *Equites* here mentioned were perhaps of the ſame nature, only that they ſerved on horſe-back. *Equites ſingulares Cæſaris, Auguſti, &c.* are frequently met with upon ancient inſcriptions, and are generally ſuppoſed to mean the body-guards of the Emperor.

LET-

LETTER XXXIII. TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Have received from Gabius Baſſus the letter you mention, acquainting me, that the number of ſoldiers I had ordered him was not ſufficient: and for your information I have directed my anſwer to be annexed to this. It is very material to diſtinguiſh between what the exigency of affairs requires, and what an ambitious deſire of extending power may think neceſſary. As for ourſelves, the intereſt of the public muſt be our only guide: accordingly it is incumbent upon us to take all poſſible care, that the ſoldiers are not abſent from their colors.

LETTER XXXIV. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Pruſenſes, Sir, have an ancient and ruinous bath, which they deſire your leave to repair. Upon examining into the condition of it, I find it ought to be rebuilt. I think therefore you may indulge them in this requeſt, as there will be a ſufficient fund for that purpoſe, partly from thoſe debts which are due from [a] private perſons to

[a] See let. 28. of this book.

to the public, which I am now calling in; and partly from what they raiſe among themſelves towards furniſhing the bath with oil, which they are willing to apply to the carrying on of this building: a work which the dignity of the city, and the ſplendor of your times ſeems to demand.

LETTER XXXV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IF the erecting a public bath will not be too great a charge upon the Pruſenſes, we may comply with their requeſt: provided, however, that no new tax be levied for this purpoſe, nor any of thoſe taken off which are applied for neceſſary ſervices.

LETTER XXXVI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Am aſſured, Sir, by your freedman and receiver-general Maximus, that it is neceſſary he ſhould have a party of ſoldiers aſſigned to him, over and beſides the *beneficiarii*, [a] which by your orders, I allotted to the very worthy Gemellinus. Thoſe therefore which I found in his ſervice I thought

[a] See let. 32. of this book in note.

thought proper to continue there, especially as he was going into [b] Paphlagonia in order to procure corn. For his better security likewise, and because it was his request, I added two of the horse-guards. But I beg you would inform me, in your next dispatches, what method you would have me observe for the future in points of this nature.

LETTER XXXVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

AS my freedman Maximus was going upon an extraordinary commission to procure corn, I approve of your having supplied him with a file of soldiers. But when he shall return to the duties of his former post, I think two from you, and as many from my receiver-general Virbius Gemellinus (to whom he is coadjutor) will be sufficient.

[b] A province in Asia the Less, bounded by the Black-Sea, and the rivers Delass and Casilirmar.

LETTER XXXVIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

SEmpronius Cælianus (whofe merit I muft always mention with efteem) having difcovered two [a] flaves among the recruits, has fent them to me. But I deferred paffing fentence till I had conferred with you, the glorious founder, and firm fupport of military difcipline, concerning the punifhment proper to be inflicted upon them. My principal doubt is, that 'tho' they have taken the military oath, they are not yet entered into any particular legion. I beg therefore, Sir, you would let me know what method I fhall purfue, efpecially as it is an affair in which example is concerned.

[a] The Roman policy excluded flaves from entering into military fervice, and it was death if they did fo. However, upon cafes of great neceffity this maxim was difpenfed with; but then they were firft made free before they were received into the army, excepting only (as Servius in his notes upon Virgil obferves) after the fatal battle of Cannæ; when the public diftrefs was fo great, that the Romans recruited their army with their flaves, though they had not time to give them their freedom. One reafon, perhaps, of this policy might be, that they did not think it fafe to arm fo confiderable a body of men, whofe numbers in the times when the Roman luxury was higheft, we may have fome idea of, by the inftance which Pliny the naturalift mentions of Claudius Ifodorus, who at the time of his death was poffeffed of no lefs than 4116 flaves, notwithftanding he had loft great numbers in the civil wars. Plin. Hift. Nat. xxxiii. 10. Meurfius de luxu. Rom.

LETTER XXXIX. Trajan *to* Pliny.

SEmpronius Cælianus has acted agreeably to my orders, in ſending ſuch perſons to be tried before you as appear to deſerve capital puniſhment. It is material however, in the caſe in queſtion, to enquire, whether theſe ſlaves inliſted themſelves voluntarily, or were choſen by the officers, or preſented as proxies for others. If they were choſen, the officer is guilty; if they are proxies, the blame reſts with thoſe who deputed them; but if, conſcious of the legal inabilities of their ſtation, they preſented themſelves voluntarily, the puniſhment muſt fall upon their own heads. That they are not yet entered into any legion, makes no great difference in their caſe; for they ought to have given a true account of themſelves immediately, upon their being approved as fit for the ſervice.

LETTER XL. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

AS I have your permiſſion, Sir, to addreſs myſelf to you in all my doubts, you will not eſteem it below your dignity to deſcend to thoſe affairs, which concern the adminiſtration of my poſt. I find there are in ſeveral cities, particularly thoſe of Nicomedia and Nicea, certain perſons who take upon themſelves to act as public [a] ſlaves, and receive an annual ſtipend accordingly; notwithſtanding they have been condemned either to the mines, the [b] public games, or other puniſhments of the like nature. Having received information of this abuſe, I have been long debating with myſelf, how I ſhould act. On the one hand, to ſend them back again to their reſpective puniſhments, (many of them being now grown old, and behaving, as I am aſſured, with ſobriety and modeſty) would, I thought, be proceeding againſt them too ſeverely; on the other, to retain convicted criminals in the public ſervice, ſeemed not altogether ſo decent. I conſidered at the

[a] See note let. 30. of this B.

[b] A puniſhment among the Romans, uſually inflicted upon ſlaves, by which they were to engage with wild beaſts, or perform the part of gladiators, in the public ſhews.

the ſame time, to ſupport theſe people in idleneſs, would be an uſeleſs expence to the public; and to leave them to ſtarve, would be dangerous. I was obliged therefore to ſuſpend the determination of this matter, 'till I could conſult with you. You will be deſirous, perhaps, to be informed, how it happened that theſe perſons eſcaped the puniſhments to which they were condemned. This enquiry I have alſo made myſelf, but cannot return you any ſatisfactory anſwer. The decrees againſt them were indeed produced; but no record appears of their having ever been reverſed. It was aſſerted, however, that theſe people were pardoned upon their petition to the proconſuls, or their lieutenants; which ſeems likely enough to be the truth, as it is improbable any perſon ſhould have dared to ſet them at liberty without authority.

LETTER XLI. Trajan *to* Pliny.

YOU will remember you were ſent into Bithynia, for the particular purpoſe of correcting thoſe many abuſes with which it appeared to be over-run. Now none ſtands more in need of reformation, than that criminals, who have been ſentenced to puniſhment, ſhould, not only be ſet

ſet at liberty (as your letter informs me) without authority; but even appointed to employments, which ought alone to be exerciſed by perſons whoſe characters are irreproachable. Thoſe therefore among them who have been convicted within theſe ten years, and whoſe ſentence has not been reverſed by proper authority, muſt be ſent back again to their reſpective puniſhments: but where more than ten years have elapſed ſince their conviction, and they are grown old and infirm, let them be diſpoſed of in ſuch employments, as are but few degrees removed from the puniſhments to which they were ſentenced; that is, either to attend upon the public baths, cleanſe the common ſhores, or repair the ſtreets and highways, the uſual offices to which ſuch perſons are aſſigned.

LETTER XLII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

WHile I was making a progreſs in a different part of the province, a prodigious fire broke out at Nicomedia, which not only conſumed ſeveral private houſes, but alſo two public buildings; the town-houſe and the temple of Iſis, tho' they ſtood on contrary ſides of the ſtreet. The occaſion of its ſpreading thus far, was partly owing to the violence of the wind,

and partly to the indolence of the people, who I am well aſſured, ſtood fixed and idle ſpectators of this terrible calamity. The truth is, the city was not provided either with [a] engines, buckets, or any one ſingle inſtrument proper to extinguiſh fires; which I have now however given directions to have prepared. You will conſider, Sir, whether it may not be adviſeable to inſtitute a company of fire-men, conſiſting only of one hundred and fifty members. I will take care none but thoſe of that buſineſs ſhall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them ſhall not be extended to any other purpoſe. As this incorporated body will conſiſt of ſo ſmall a number, it will be eaſy enough to keep them under proper regulation.

a It has been generally imagined that the antients had not the art of raiſing water by engines; but this paſſage ſeems to favor the contrary opinion. The word in the original is *Sipho*, which Heſychius explains (as one of the commentators obſerves) *inſtrumentum ad jaculandas aquas adverſus incendia*; "an inſtrument to throw up water againſt fires." But there is a paſſage in Seneca which ſeems to put this matter beyond conjecture, tho' none of the critics upon this place have taken notice of it: *Solemus*, ſays he, *duabus manibus inter ſe junctis aquam concipere, & compreſſa utrimque palma in modum ſiphonis exprimere*, [Q. N. l. 2. 16.] where we plainly ſee the uſe of this *Sipho* was to throw up water, and conſequently the Romans were acquainted with that art. The account which Pliny gives of his fountains at *Tuſcum* is likewiſe another evident proof.

LET-

LETTER XLIII. Trajan *to* Pliny.

YOU are of opinion it would be proper to conſtitute a company of fire-men in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practiſed in ſeveral other cities. But it is to be remember'd, that this ſort of ſocieties have greatly diſturb'd the peace of that province in general, and of thoſe cities in particular. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purpoſes they may be founded, they will not fail to form themſelves into aſſemblies, however ſhort their meetings may be. It will therefore be ſafer, to provide ſuch machines as are of ſervice in extinguiſhing fires, enjoining the owners of houſes to aſſiſt upon ſuch occaſions; and if it ſhall be neceſſary, to call in the help of the populace.

LETTER XLIV. To the Emperor Trajan.

WE have acquitted, Sir, and renewed our [a] vows, for your proſperity, in which that of the public is neceſſarily included; imploring

[a] This was an anniverſary cuſtom obſerved throughout the Empire, on the 30th of December.

ing the Gods to grant us ever thus to pay, and thus to repeat them.

LETTER XLV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Received the ſatisfaction, my dear Pliny, of being informed by your letter, that you, together with the people under your government, have both paid and renewed your vows to the immortal Gods, for my health and happineſs.

LETTER XLVI. To he Emperor TRAJAN.

THE city of Nicomedia, Sir, have expended three millions three hundred and twenty nine ſeſterces [a] building an aquæduct; but, not being able to finiſh it, the works are entirely falling to ruin. They made a ſecond attempt in another place, where they laid out [b] two millions. But this likewiſe is diſcontinued; ſo that after having been at an immenſe charge to no purpoſe, they muſt ſtill be at a farther expence, in order to be accommodated with water. I have examined a fine ſpring from whence the water may be conveyed over arches (as was done in their firſt deſign) in ſuch

[a] About 24000l. of our money.
[b] About 16000l. of our money.

ſuch a manner that the higher, as well as level and low parts of the city may be ſupplied. There are but very few of the old arches remaining; the ſquare ſtones, however, employed in the former building, may be uſed in turning the new ones. I am of opinion part ſhould be raiſed with brick, as that will be the eaſier and cheaper method. But that this work may not be carried on with the ſame ill ſucceſs as the former, it will be neceſſary to ſend here an architect and an engineer. And I will venture to ſay, from the beauty and uſefulneſs of the deſign, it will be a work well worthy the ſplendor of your times.

LETTER XLVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

CARE muſt be taken to ſupply the city of Nicomedia with water; and you will do ſo, I am well perſuaded, with all the diligence you ought. But it is moſt certainly no leſs incumbent upon you to examine, by whoſe miſconduct it has happened, that ſuch large ſums have been thrown away upon this work, leſt by applying the money to private purpoſes, this aquæduct ſhould likewiſe be left unfiniſhed. You will let me know the reſult of your enquiry.

LETTER XLVIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE citizens of Nicea, Sir, are building a theatre, which, tho' it is not yet finiſhed, has already exhauſted, as I am informed (for I have not examined the account myſelf) above [a] ten millions of ſeſterces; and, what is worſe, I fear to no purpoſe. For either from the foundation being laid in a marſhy ground, or that the ſtones themſelves were decayed, the walls are crack'd from top to bottom. It deſerves your conſideration therefore, whether it be beſt to carry on this work,

[a] About 80,000 l. of our money. To thoſe who are not acquainted with the immenſe riches of the antients, it may ſeem incredible that a city, and not the capital one neither, of a conquer'd province, ſhould expend ſo large a ſum of money, upon only the ſhell (as it appears to be) of a theatre: but Aſia was eſteemed the moſt conſiderable part of the world for wealth; its fertility and exportations (as * Tully obſerves) exceeding that of all other countries. The ingenious Dr. Arbuthnot quotes an inſtance from Athenæus of Aſiatic riches, which a man muſt be a tolerable arithmetician even to count. It is the value of the treaſure of Sardanapalus, with which he made a funeral pile for himſelf and family when he was beſieged by Arbaces king of the Medes. "Athenæus makes the "value of the treaſure of this pile to amount to 100,000,000 "talents, which reckoned in Babylonic talents, amounts to "16,953,125,000l. This was only the value of the ſilver; "there was beſides a tenth part of that number of talents of "gold, which if gold was reckon'd in a decuple proportion "will juſt double that ſum." *Arbuth. ant. coins.* p. 203.

* Orat. pro Imp. Cn. Pomp.

work, or entirely difcontinue it; or rather, perhaps, whether it would not be moft prudent abfolutely to deftroy it: for the foundations upon which this building is immediately fupported, appear to me more expenfive than folid. Several private perfons have undertaken to build the compartments of this theatre at their own expence, fome engaging to erect the portico, others the galleries beyond the [b] pit: but this defign cannot be executed, as the principal fabric is now at a ftand. This city is alfo rebuilding, upon a more enlarged plan, the [c] Gymnafium, which was burnt down before my arrival in the province. They have already been at fome (and, I doubt, a fruitlefs) expence. The ftructure is not only irregular and ill-difpofed, but the prefent architect (who it muft be owned is a rival to the perfon who was firft employed) afferts, that the walls, tho' they are [d] twenty-two feet thick, are not ftrong enough to fupport the fuperftructure, as they

[b] The word *Cavea* in the original, comprehends more than what we call the *Pit* in our theatres, as it means the whole fpace in which the fpectators fat. Thefe theatres being open at top, the galleries here mentioned were for the convenience of retiring in bad weather.

[c] A place in which the athletic exercifes were performed, and where the philofophers alfo ufed to read their lectures.

[d] The Roman foot confifted of 11 inches and 7 tenths of our ftandard.

they are not incrusted *without*, nor the intermediate space properly cemented *within*. The inhabitants of [e] Claudiopolis are sinking (for I cannot call it erecting) a large public bath, upon a low spot of ground which lies at the foot of a mountain. The fund appropriated for the carrying on this work, arises from the money which those honorary members you were pleased to add to their senate, paid (or at least are ready to pay whenever I call upon them) [f] for their admission. As I am afraid therefore the public money in one place, and (what is infinitely more valuable than any pecuniary consideration) your benefaction in the other, should be ill applied, I am obliged to desire you would send hither an architect to inspect, not only the theatre, but the bath; in order to consider whether, after all the expence which has already been laid out, it will be better to finish them upon the present plan, or reform the one, and remove the other: for otherwise we may possibly throw away our future cost,

 by

[e] A city in Isaaric, a province in Asia, situated at the foot of mount Taurus between Lyconia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, and the sea.

[f] The honorary senators, that is, such who were not received into the council of the city by election, but by the appointment of the Emperor, paid a certain sum of money upon their admission into the senate.

by endeavoring not to loſe what we have already expended.

LETTER XLIX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU who are upon the ſpot, will beſt be able to conſider and determine what is proper to be done concerning the theatre, which the inhabitants of Nicea are building; as for myſelf, it will be ſufficient if you let me know your reſolution. With reſpect to the particular parts of this theatre which are to be raiſed at a private charge; you will ſee thoſe engagements fulfilled, when the body of the building, to which they are to be annexed, ſhall be finiſhed.——Theſe paltry Greeks are, I know, immoderately fond of Gymnaſtic diverſions, and therefore, perhaps, the citizens of Nicea have enlarged their fabric for this purpoſe, beyond its due proportion; however, they muſt be contented with ſuch a one as will be ſufficient to anſwer their occaſions.

I entirely leave it to you to perſuade the Claudiopolitani as you ſhall think proper, with relation to their bath, which they have placed, it ſeems, in a very improper ſituation. As there is no pro-

vince that is not furniſhed with men of ſkill and ingenuity, you cannot poſſibly want architects; unleſs you think it the ſhorteſt way to get them from Rome, when it is generally from Greece that they come hither.

LETTER L. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

WHEN I reflect upon the ſplendor of your exalted ſtation, and the greatneſs of your mind, nothing, I am perſuaded, can be more ſuitable to both, than to point out to you ſuch deſigns as are worthy of your glorious and immortal name, as being no leſs uſeful than magnificent. Bordering upon the territories of the city of Nicomedia is a moſt extenſive lake; upon which the commodities of the country are eaſily and cheaply tranſported to the high road; but from thence, are conveyed in carriages to the ſea-ſide, at great charge and labor. To remedy this inconvenience, it will require, 'tis true, many hands; but upon ſuch an occaſion they cannot be ſcarce: for the country, and particularly the city, is exceedingly populous; and one may aſſuredly hope, that every body will readily engage in a work which will be of univerſal benefit. It only remains then to ſend hither, if you ſhall think pro-

per, a ſurveyor or an architect, in order to examine whether the lakes lie above the level of the ſea; the engineers of this province being of opinion that the former is higher by forty [a] cubits. I find there is in the neighborhood of this place, a large canal, which was cut by one of the kings of this country; but as it is left unfiniſhed, it is uncertain whether it was for the purpoſe of draining the adjacent lands, or making a communication between the lake and the river. It is equally doubtful too, whether the death of the king, or the deſpair of being able to accompliſh the deſign, prevented the completion of it. If this was the reaſon, I am ſo much the more deſirous, for the ſake of your illuſtrious character (and I hope you will pardon me the ambition) that *you* may have the glory of executing, what [b] *kings* could only attempt.

LET-

[a] A Roman cubit is equal to 1 foot 5 inches $\frac{406}{1000}$ of our meaſure. *Arbuthnot*'s *tab.*

[b] A commentator upon this paſſage thinks this a very extraordinary compliment; " As if, ſays he, an Emperor of " Rome could not do more than a little king of Bithynia." But it is much more probable that this critic ſhould be miſtaken in his objection, than Pliny in his compliment; and tho' he will have it to be a *little* king, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe our author meant ſome great king of Perſia. Beſides, *Imperator*, among the Romans, had not of itſelf any ſuch high idea, as has been affixed to it in later times. The meaning therefore of this wiſh ſeems to be, that tho' Trajan was contented

LETTER LI. TRAJAN to PLINY.

THERE is something in the scheme you propose of opening a communication between the lake and the sea, which may, perhaps, tempt me to come into it. But you must first carefully examine the situation of this body of water, what quantity it contains, and from whence it is supplied; lest by letting it into the sea, it should be totally exhausted. You may apply to Calpurnius Macer for an engineer; as I will also send you from hence, some persons skilled in works of this nature.

LETTER LII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

UPON examining the expences of the city of Byzantium[a], (which I find are extremely great) I was informed, Sir, that the appointments of the embassador, which they send yearly to you with their homage and the act

tented to be in title no more than General, [*Imperator*] yet in acts of public munificence he might be more than those who proudly stiled themselves kings.

[a] Now Constantinople.

which paſſes in the ſenate upon that occaſion, amount to twelve [b] thouſand ſeſterces. But knowing the generous maxims of your government, I thought proper to ſend the decree without the embaſſador, that at the ſame time they diſcharged their public duty to you, they might be eaſed in the manner of paying it. This city is likewiſe taxed with the ſum of [c] three thouſand ſeſterces towards defraying the expence of an envoy, whom they annually ſend to compliment the governor of Moeſia: this expence I have alſo directed to be ſpared. I beg, Sir, you would do me the honor either to confirm my judgment, or correct my error in theſe points, by letting me know your ſentiments.

LETTER LIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Well approve, my dear Pliny, of your having excuſed the Byzantines the expence of ſending an embaſſador to me. I ſhall eſteem their duty as ſufficiently paid, tho' I only receive the act of their ſenate thro' your hands. The governor of Moeſia muſt likewiſe excuſe them, if they compliment him at a leſs expence.

[b] About 96 l. ſterling.
[c] About 24 l. of our money.

LET-

LETTER LIV. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Beg, Sir, you would ſettle a doubt I have concerning your [a] *Diplomas*; whether you think proper that thoſe whoſe dates are expired ſhall be in force, and how long? For I am apprehenſive I may thro' ignorance, either confirm ſuch of theſe inſtruments as are illegal, or prevent the effect of thoſe which are neceſſary.

LETTER LV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE Diplomas whoſe dates are expired, muſt by no means be made uſe of. For which reaſon it is a principal rule with me, to ſend new inſtruments of this kind into all the provinces before they are immediately wanted.

[a] A diploma is properly a grant of certain privileges either to particular places or perſons. It ſignifies alſo grants of other kinds; and it ſometimes means * poſt-warrants, as, perhaps, it does in this place.

* See Let. xiv. of this book, in the notes.

LET-

LETTER LVI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

UPON intimating, Sir, my design to the city of [a] Apamea, of examining into the state of their public funds and revenues, they told me they were all extremely willing I should inspect their accounts; but that no Proconsul had ever yet perused them, as they had a privilege (and that of very antient date) of administring their commonwealth in the manner they thought proper. I required them to draw up a memorial of what they then offered, which I transmit to you exactly as I received it; tho' I am sensible it contains several things foreign to the question. I beg you would honor me with your commands, how I am to act in this affair; for I should be extremely sorry either to exceed or fall short of my commission.

[a] A city in Bithynia.

LET-

LETTER LVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE memorial of the Apameans annexed to your letter, has ſaved me the neceſſity of conſidering the reaſons they ſuggeſt, why the former Proconſuls forbore to inſpect their accounts; ſince they are willing to ſubmit them to your examination. Their compliance deſerves to be encouraged; and they may be aſſured, the enquiry you are to make in purſuance of my orders, ſhall be with a full reſerve to their privileges.

LETTER LVIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Nicodemians, Sir, before my arrival in this province, had begun to build a new Forum contiguous to their former, in a corner of which ſtands an antient temple dedicated to the [a] *mother of the Gods.* This fabric muſt either be repaired, or removed; and for this reaſon chiefly,

[a] Cybele, Rhea, or Ops, as ſhe is otherwiſe called; from whom, according to the Pagan creed, the reſt of the gods are ſuppoſed to have deſcended.

chiefly, becauſe it is a much lower building than that which is now erected. Upon enquiry whether this temple had been conſecrated, I was informed that their manner of dedication differs from ours. You will be pleaſed therefore, Sir, to conſider whether a temple, which has not been conſecrated in form, may be removed[a], conſiſtently with the ceremonies of religion: for if there is no objection from that quarter, there is none on the ſide of inconvenience.

LETTER LIX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU may without ſcruple, my dear Pliny, if the ſituation requires it, remove the temple of the *mother of the Gods*, from the place where it now ſtands, to any other more convenient. You need be under no difficulty concerning the act of dedication; for the ground of a [b] foreign city is not capable of receiving that kind of conſecration which is obſerved by our laws.

[a] Whatever was legally conſecrated, was ever afterwards unapplicable to profane uſes.

[b] That is, a city not admitted to enjoy the laws and privileges of Rome.

LET-

LETTER LX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WE have celebrated, Sir, (with thofe fentiments of joy your virtues juftly merit) the day of your acceffion, when, at the fame time that you accepted, you faved the empire. And we fincerely implored the Gods to preferve you in health and profperity, as it is upon your welfare that the fecurity and repofe of mankind depends. I renewed at the fame time the oath of allegiance at the head of the army, which repeated it after me in the ufual form, the people of the province zealoufly expreffing their affection to you by taking the fame oath.

LETTER LXI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOUR letter, my dear Pliny, was extremely acceptable, as it gave me an account with what zeal and affection you, together with the army and the provincials, folemnized the day of my acceffion to the empire.

LETTER LXII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE money owing to the public, is, by the prudence, Sir, of your councils, and the care of my adminiſtration, either actually paid in, or now recovering: but I am afraid it muſt lie unemployed. For as on one ſide, there are few or no opportunities of purchaſing land, ſo on the other, one cannot meet with any perſon who is willing to borrow of the [a] public (eſpecially at the intereſt of 12 *per cent.*) when they can raiſe money upon the ſame terms from private hands. You will conſider then, Sir, whether it may not be adviſable, in order to invite reſponſible perſons to take this money, to lower the intereſt; or if that ſcheme ſhould not ſucceed, to place it in the hands of the Decurii, upon their giving ſufficient ſecurity to the public. And tho' they ſhould not be willing to receive it, yet as the rate of intereſt will be abated, the hardſhip will be ſo much the leſs.

[a] The reaſon why they did not chooſe to borrow of the public at the ſame rate of intereſt which they paid to private perſons, was (as one of the commentators obſerves) becauſe in the former inſtance they were obliged to give ſecurity; whereas in the latter, they could raiſe money upon their perſonal credit.

LET-

LETTER LXIII. TRAJAN to PLINY.

I Agree with you, my dear Pliny, that there ſeems to be no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public money, than by lowering the intereſt; the meaſure of which you will determine according to the number of the borrowers. But to compel perſons to receive it, who are not diſpoſed to do ſo, when poſſibly they themſelves may have no opportunity of employing it, is by no means conſiſtent with the juſtice of my government.

LETTER LXIV. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Return you my higheſt acknowledgments, Sir, that among the many important occupations in which you are engaged, you have condeſcended to be my guide in thoſe points wherein I have conſulted you: a favor which I muſt now again beſeech you to grant me. A certain perſon came before me with a complaint, that his adverſaries, who had been baniſhed for three years by the illuſtrious Servilius Calvus, ſtill remained in the province: they, on the contrary affirmed that Calvus had reſtored them again to their country, and produced his

his edict to that purpose. I thought it neceſſary therefore to refer the whole affair to you. For as I have your expreſs orders not to reſtore any perſon who has been ſentenced to baniſhment either by myſelf or others; ſo I have no directions with reſpect to thoſe, who having been baniſhed by ſome of my predeceſſors in this government, have by them alſo been reſtored. I am obliged then, to beg you would inform me, Sir, what method I ſhould obſerve, as well with regard to theſe, as to others, who after having been condemned to perpetual baniſhment, have returned to the province without permiſſion: for caſes of that nature have likewiſe fallen under my cognizance. A perſon was brought before me who had been ſentenced to perpetual exile by the Proconſul Julius Baſſus: but knowing that the acts of Baſſus, during his adminiſtration, had been reſcinded, and that the ſenate had granted leave to all thoſe who had fallen under his condemnation, of bringing their appeal, provided they did ſo within the ſpace of two years; I enquired of this man whether he had acquainted the Proconſul with his caſe? He replied, he had not. I beg then you would inform me whether you would have him ſent back again into exile; or whether you think ſome more ſevere, and what kind of puniſhment, ſhould

be

be inflicted upon him, and such others who may hereafter be found to lie under the same delinquency. I have annexed to my letter the decree of Calvus, and the edict by which the persons mentioned above were restored, as also the decree of Bassus.

LETTER LXV. Trajan *to* Pliny.

I WILL let you know my determination concerning those exiles which were banished for three years by the Proconsul P. Servilius Calvus, and soon afterwards restored to the province by his edict, when I shall have informed myself from him of the reasons of this proceeding. With respect to that person who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by Julius Bassus, yet continued to remain in the province, without making his appeal if he thought himself agrieved, (tho' he had two years given him for that purpose) I would have him sent in chains to my [a] prætorian Præfects: for only

[a] These, in the original institution as settled by Augustus, were only commanders of his body-guards, but in the later times of the Roman empire they were next in authority under the Emperor, to whom they seem to have acted as a sort of prime ministers.

to remand him back to a punifhment, which he has contumacioufly eluded, will by no means be fufficient.

LETTER LXVI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

WHEN I cited the judges, Sir, to attend me at a [a] feffions which I was going to hold, Flavius Archippus claimed the privilege of being excufed, as exercifing the profeffion of a [b] philofopher. It was alledg'd by fome who were prefent, that he ought not only to be excufed from that office, but even ftruck out of the roll of judges, and remanded back to the punifhment from which he had efcaped by breaking his chains. At the fame time a fentence of the Proconful Velius Paullus was read, by which it appeared that Archippus had been condemned to the mines for forgery. He had nothing to produce in proof that this fentence had ever been reverfed. He alledged, however, in favor of his reftitution, a peti-

[a] The provinces were divided into kind of circuits called *Conventus*, whither the Proconfuls ufed to go in order to adminifter juftice. The judges here mentioned muft not be underftood to mean the fame fort of judicial officers as with us; they were rather in the nature of our juries.

[b] By the imperial conftitutions the philofophers were exempted from all public functions. *Catanæus.*

a petition which he presented to Domitian, together with a letter from that Prince and a decree of the Prusensians in his honor. To these he subjoined a letter which he had received from you; as also an edict and a letter of your august father confirming the grants which had been made to him by Domitian. For these reasons, notwithstanding crimes of so atrocious a nature were laid to his charge, I did not think proper to determine any thing concerning him, without first consulting with you in the affair, which seems to merit your peculiar decision. I have transmitted to you, with this letter, the several allegations on both sides.

DOMITIAN'S *LETTER* to TERENTIUS MAXIMUS.

"FLavius Archippus the philosopher has prevailed with me to give an order that 600,000 [a] sesterces be laid out in the purchase of an estate for the support of him and his family, in the neighborhood of [b] Prusias, his native country.

[a] About 4800 l. of our money.

[b] Geographers are not agreed where to place this city; Cellarius conjectures it may possibly be the same with *Prusa ad Olympum*, Prusa at the foot of Mount Olympus in Mysia, mentioned in Let. 85. of this book.

" Let this be accordingly done; and place that " sum to the article of my benefactions."

From the same, to L. Appius Maximus.

" I Recommend, my dear Maximus, to your " protection, that worthy philosopher Ar- " chippus; a person whose morals are agreeable " to his profession: and I would have you pay " full regard to whatever he shall reasonably re- " quest.

The EDICT of the Emperor Nerva.

" THERE are some points, no doubt, " [a] Quirites, concerning which the happy " tenor of my government is a sufficient explana- " tion of my sentiments; and a good prince need " not give an express declaration in matters where- " in his intention cannot but be clearly understood. " Every citizen in the empire will bear me witness, " that I gave up my private repose to the security " of the public, in order to have the pleasure of " dispensing new bounties of my own, and con- " firming former ones of my predecessors. But " lest

[a] A general appellation given to the Roman people.

"left the memory of him [b] who made these "grants, or the diffidence of those who received "them, should occasion any interruption to the "public joy, I thought it as necessary as it is "agreeable to me to obviate these suspicions, by "assuring them of my indulgence. Let it not "be thought that I shall rescind either the pub- "lic or private acts of any former Prince, for "the sake of meriting the obligation of ratifying "and confirming them; nor need any who have "received the smiles of imperial favor, renew "their petitions to me in order to enjoy the be- "nefit of them. Rather let them leave me in "full leisure for conferring new favors; under "the assurance, that I am only to be solicited "for those which have not already been obtain- "ed."

From the same, to TULLIUS JUSTUS.

"AS I have made it the maxim of my go- "vernment to observe the ordonances of "my predecessors in all things, so regard must "be paid to the letters of Domitian."

[b] Domitian.

LETTER LXVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

FLavius Archippus has conjured me by all my wishes for your prosperity, and by your immortal glory, that I would transmit to you the memorial which he presented to me. I could not refuse a request conceived in such terms; however, I acquainted the prosecutrix with this my intention, from whom I have also received a memorial on her part. I have annexed them both to my letter; that by hearing, as it were, each side, you may more easily consider what to determine in this affair.

LETTER LXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is possible Domitian might be ignorant of the circumstances in which Archippus was, when he wrote the letter so much to that philosopher's honor. However, it is more agreeable to my disposition to suppose that Prince designed

he

he ſhould be reſtored to his former ſituation; eſpecially ſince he ſo often had the honor of a ſtatue decreed to him by thoſe, who could not be [a] ignorant of the ſentence which the Proconſul Paullus pronounced upon him. But I do not mean to intimate by this, my dear Pliny, that if any new charge ſhould be brought againſt him, you ſhould be leſs diſpoſed to hear his accuſers. I have examined the memorial of his proſecutrix, Furia Prima, as alſo that of Archippus himſelf which you ſent with your former letter.

[a] In the text of all the editions it is *qui ignorabant*, but the reaſoning ſeems to require the negative particle; tho' the commentators have paſſed over the paſſage without objection.

LETTER LXIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IT is with great judgment, Sir, you are apprehensive[a], that the lake will be in danger of being entirely drained, if a communication is open'd between that and the sea, by means of the river: but I think I have found a method to obviate that inconvenience. A channel may be cut from the lake to the river, and a narrow slip of land left between them. By this means the water in the lake will not only be preserved and kept distinct from the river, but all the same purposes will be answer'd as if they were united: for it will be extremely easy to convey over that little intervening ridge whatever burdens shall be brought down by the canal. This is a scheme which may be pursued, if it should be found necessary; but I hope there will be no occasion to put it in practice. For in the first place, the lake itself is pretty deep; and in the next, by damming up a river, which runs from it on the opposite side, and turning its course as we shall find proper, the same quantity of water may still be retained. Besides, there are several little brooks near the place where it is proposed the channel

[a] See Letters 50 and 51 of this Book.

channel ſhall be cut, which if ſkilfully collected, will ſupply the lake with water in proportion to what it ſhall loſe. But if you ſhould rather approve of the channel's being extended farther, and cut narrower, and ſo conveyed directly into the ſea, without running into the river, the reflux of the tide will return whatever it receives from the lake. After all, if the nature of the place ſhould not admit of any of theſe ſchemes, the courſe of the water may be checked by ſluices. Theſe, however, and many other particulars, will be more ſkilfully examined into by the engineer, which, agreeably to your promiſe, I hope you will ſend; for indeed, Sir, it is an enterprize well worthy of your attention and magnificence. In the mean while I have wrote to the illuſtrious Calpurnius Macer, in purſuance of your orders, to ſend me a proper engineer for this occaſion.

LETTER LXX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is evident, my dear Pliny, that neither your prudence nor your care have been wanting in this affair of the lake, ſince in order to make it of more general benefit to us, you have provided ſo many expedients againſt the hazard of its being drained.

drained. I leave it to your own choice to purſue which ever ſcheme ſhall be thought moſt proper. Calpurnius Macer will furniſh you, no doubt, with an engineer, and artiſts of that kind are not wanting in his province.

LETTER LXXI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

A Very conſiderable queſtion, Sir, in which the whole province is intereſted, has been lately ſtarted, concerning the [a] ſtate and maintenance of deſerted children. I have examined the conſtitutions of former Princes upon this head, but not finding any thing in them relating, either in general or particular, to the Bithynians, I thought it neceſſary to apply to you for your directions: for in a point which ſeems to require the ſpecial interpoſition of your authority, I could not content myſelf with following precedents. An edict of the Emperor Auguſtus (as pretended) was read to me, concerning one Annia; as alſo a letter from Veſpaſian to the Lacedæmonians, and another from Titus to the ſame, with one likewiſe from him to the Achæans. At the ſame time ſome letters from

[a] That is, whether they ſhould be conſidered in a ſtate of freedom or ſlavery.

from Domitian were exhibited to me, directed to the Proconſul Avidius Nigrinus, and Armenius Brocchus, together with one from that Prince to the Lacedæmonians: but I have not tranſmitted them to you, as well becauſe they were not correct (and ſome of them too of ſuſpicious authority) as becauſe I imagine, the true copies are preſerved in your archives.

LETTER LXXII. Trajan *to* Pliny.

THE queſtion concerning ſuch children who were expoſed by their parents, and afterwards taken up by others, and educated in a ſtate of ſervitude tho' born free, has been frequently diſcuſſed; but I do not find in the conſtitutions of the Princes my predeceſſors, any general regulation upon this head, extending to all the provinces. There are, indeed, ſome reſcripts of Domitian to Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus, which ought to be obſerved; but Bithynia is not comprehended in the provinces therein mentioned. I am of opinion therefore, that the claims of thoſe who aſſert their right of freedom upon this footing, ſhould be allow'd; without obliging them to purchaſe their liberty by paying for their maintenance.

LETTER LXXIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

HAving been petitioned by fome perfons to grant them the liberty (agreeably to the practice of former Proconfuls) of removing the relics of their deceafed relations, upon the fuggeftion, that either their monuments were decayed by age, or ruined by the inundations of the river, or for other reafons of the fame kind; I thought proper, Sir, knowing that in cafes of this nature it is ufual at Rome to apply to the college of Priefts, to confult with you who are the fovereign of that facred order, what you would have me obferve in this affair.

LETTER LXXIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT will be a hardfhip upon the provincials to oblige them to addrefs themfelves to the college of Priefts, whenever they may have juft reafons for removing the afhes of their anceftors. In this cafe therefore it will be better you fhould follow the example of the governors your predeceffors, and grant or deny them this liberty as you fhall fee reafonable.

LET-

LETTER LXXV. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Have enquired, Sir, at Prufa, for a proper place on which to erect the bath you were pleafed to allow that city to build; and I have found one to my fatisfaction. It is upon the fite where formerly, I am told, ftood a very beautiful fabric, but which is now entirely fallen into ruins. By fixing upon that fpot, we fhall gain the advantage of ornamenting the city in a part which at prefent is exceedingly deformed, and enlarging it at the fame time without removing any of the edifices; only rebuilding one which is fallen to decay. There are fome circumftances attending this ftructure, of which it is proper I fhould inform you. Claudius Polyænus bequeathed it to the emperor Claudius Cæfar, with directions that a temple fhould be erected to that Prince in the midft of a piazza, and that the remainder of the houfe fhould be let in apartments. The city received the rents for a confiderable time; but partly by its having been plundered, and partly by its being neglected, the piazza, together with the whole dome, is entirely gone out of repair, and there is now fcarce any thing remaining of it, but the ground upon which it ftood. If you fhall think proper, Sir, either to give or fell this fpot of ground to

to the city, as it lies fo conveniently for their purpofe, they will receive it as the higheft mark of your favor. I intend, with your permiffion, to place the bath in the vacant area; and to extend a range of portico's with feats, in that part where the former edifice ftood. This new fabric I defign to dedicate to you, by whofe bounty it will rife with all the elegance and magnificence worthy of your glorious name. I have fent you a copy of the will, by which, tho' it is not very correct, you will fee, that Polyænus left feveral things for the ornament of this houfe; but thofe alfo are loft with all the reft: I will however make the ftricteft enquiry after them that I am able.

LETTER LXXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Have no objection to the Prufenfes making ufe of the area together with the vacant houfe, which you fay is fallen into ruins, for the fituation of their bath. But it is not fufficiently clear by your letter, whether the temple in the center of the piazza was actually dedicated to Claudius, or not; for if it were, it is ftill confecrated ground[a].

[a] And confequently by the Roman laws unapplicable to any other purpofe.

LET-

LETTER LXXVII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Have been preffed by fome, to take upon my felf the cognizance of caufes relating to claims of freedom by birth-right, according to a refcript of Domitian's to Minucius Rufus, and the practice of former Proconfuls. But upon cafting my eye on the decree of the fenate concerning cafes of this nature, I find it only mentions [a] the Proconfular provinces. I therefore, Sir, defer intermeddling in this affair, till I fhall receive your commands how you would have me act.

[a] The Roman provinces in the times of the Emperors, were of two forts; thofe which were diftinguifhed by the name of the *Provinciæ Cæfaris*, and the *Provinciæ Senatus*. The *Provinciæ Cæfaris*, or Imperial provinces, were fuch as the Emperor, for reafons of policy, referved to his own immediate adminiftration, or of thofe whom he thought proper to appoint: The *Provinciæ Senatus*, or Proconfular provinces, were fuch as he left to the government of Proconfuls or Prætors chofen in the ordinary method of election. [*Vid. Suet. in Aug.* c. 44. n. 1.] Of the former kind was Bithynia, at the time when our author prefided there. *Vid. Maffon. vit. Plin.* p. 133.

LET-

LETTER LXXVIII. TRAJAN to PLINY.

IF you will ſend me the decree of the ſenate, which occaſioned your doubt, I ſhall be able to judge, whether you ought to take upon yourſelf the cognizance of cauſes relating to claims of freedom by birth-right.

LETTER LXXIX. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

JUlius Largus, of the province of [a] Pontica, (whom I never ſaw, nor indeed even heard of till lately) in confidence, Sir, of your diſtinguiſhing judgment in my favor, has intruſted me with the execution of the laſt inſtance of his loyalty towards you. He has left me by will, his eſtate upon truſt, in the firſt place to receive out of it 50,000 ſeſterces [b] for my own uſe, and to apply the remainder for the benefit of the cities of [c] Heraclea and Tiani, either for the erecting ſome public edifice in honor of your memory, or inſtituting Athletic games, as I ſhall ſee proper. Theſe games

[a] A province in Aſia bordering upon the black ſea, and by ſome antient geographers conſidered as one province with Bithynia.

[b] About 400 l. ſterl.

[c] Cities of Pontus near the Euxine or black ſea.

games are to be celebrated every five years, and called *Trajan's games*. Of this I thought it neceſſary to acquaint you; and for this reaſon chiefly, that I may have your ſentiments how I ought to determine.

LETTER LXXX. Trajan *to* Pliny.

BY the prudent choice Julius Largus has made of a truſtee, one would imagine he had known you well. You will conſider then what will moſt tend to the perpetuating of his memory, according to the circumſtances of the reſpective places; and purſue whatever you ſhall think moſt proper.

LETTER LXXXI. To the Emperor Trajan.

YOU acted agreeably, Sir, to your uſual prudence, when you commanded the illuſtrious Culpurnius Macer to ſend a legionary centurion to Byzantium [a]. You will conſider whether the city of Juliopolis does not deſerve the ſame regard, which tho' it is extremely ſmall, ſuſtains very great burthens, and is ſo much the more expoſed to injuries. as it is leſs capable of reſiſting them. Whatever benefits you ſhall confer

[a] Conſtantinople.

upon that city, will in effect be advantageous to the whole country: for it is situated at the entrance of Bithynia, and is the town thro' which all who travel into that province generally pass.

LETTER LXXXII. Trajan to Pliny.

THE circumstances of the city of Byzantium are such, by the great confluence of strangers to it, that I thought myself obliged to honor it with a legionary centurion's guard, which was always granted to them in former reigns. But if we should distinguish the city of Juliopolis in the same manner, it will be introducing a precedent for many others, whose claim to that favor will rise in proportion to their want of strength. I have so much confidence, however, in your administration, as to believe you will omit no method of protecting them from injuries. If any shall act contrary to the discipline I have enjoined, let them be instantly corrected; or should their crimes be too enormous for immediate chastisement, if they happen to be soldiers, I would have them sent to their officers, with an account of the particular misdemeanor you shall find they have been guilty of; but if they are persons who are returning to Rome, inform me by letter.

LET-

LETTER LXXXIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

BY a law of [a] Pompey's concerning the Bithynians it is enacted, Sir, that no person shall exercise any magistracy, or be chosen into the senate under the age of thirty. By the same law it is declared, that those who have passed thro' the offices of the commonwealth, shall be senators of course. Subsequent to this law the Emperor Augustus published an edict, by which it was ordained, that persons of the age of twenty two should be capable of being magistrates. The question therefore is, whether those who have exercised the functions of a magistrate before the age of thirty, may be legally chosen into the senate by the [b] Censors? And if so, whether by the same kind of construction, they may be elected

 senators,

[a] Pompey the great having subdued Mithridates, and by that means greatly enlarged the Roman empire, passed several laws relating to the newly conquer'd provinces, and, among others, that which is here mentioned; as Catanæus observes from Appian.

[b] The right of electing senators did not originally belong to the Censors, who were only, as Tully somewhere calls them, *Guardians of the discipline and manners of the city*; but in process of time they engrossed the whole privilege of conferring that honor.

ſenators, at the age when they are allowed to be magiſtrates, tho' they have not actually borne any office? A cuſtom, it ſeems, which has hitherto been obſerved; and is ſaid to be neceſſary, as it is rather better that perſons of noble birth ſhould be admitted into the ſenate, than thoſe of Plebeian rank. The Cenſors elect having deſired my ſentiments upon this point, I was of opinion that both by the law of Pompey and the edict of Auguſtus, thoſe who had exerciſed the magiſtrature before the age of thirty, might be choſen into the ſenate; and for this reaſon, becauſe the edict allows the office of magiſtrate to be undertaken before thirty; and the law declares, that whoever has been a magiſtrate, has a right to be a ſenator. But with reſpect to thoſe who never diſcharged any office in the ſtate, tho' they were of the age required for that purpoſe, I had ſome doubt: and therefore, Sir, I apply to you for your directions. I have annexed to this letter the heads of the law, together with the edict of Auguſtus.

LET-

LETTER LXXXIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Agree with you, my dear Pliny, in your conſtruction; and am of opinion that the law of Pompey is ſo far repealed by the edict of the Emperor Auguſtus, that thoſe perſons who are not leſs than twenty-two years of age may execute the office of magiſtrates, and when they have, may be received into the ſenate of their reſpective cities. But I think thoſe who are under thirty years of age, and have not diſcharged the function of a magiſtrate, cannot upon pretence that in point of years they might have done ſo, claim a place in the ſenate of their ſeveral communities.

LETTER LXXXV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHILST I was diſpatching ſome public affairs, Sir, at Pruſa[a], with an intention of leaving that city the ſame day, the magiſtrate Aſclepiades informed me, that Eumolpus had appealed to me from a motion which Cocceianus Dion made in their ſenate. Dion, it ſeems, hav-

[a] At the foot of Mount Olympus.

ing been appointed supervisor of a public edifice, desired that it might be assigned [b] to the city in form. Eumolpus, who was counsel for Flavius Archippus, insisted that Dion should first be required to deliver in his accounts relating to this work, before it was assigned to the corporation; suggesting he had not performed his duty in the manner he ought. He took notice at the same time, that this building, in which your statue is erected, was made use of also for the burial [c] of the dead, the bodies of Dion's wife and son being (as he asserted) there deposited; and petitioned that I would hear this cause in the public tribunal. Upon my complying with his request, and deferring my journey for that purpose, he desired a longer day in order to prepare the cause, and that I would try it in some other city. I appointed the city of Nicea, where, when I took my seat, Eumolpus,

[b] This, probably, was some act whereby the city was to ratify and confirm the proceedings of Dion under the commission assigned to him.

[c] It was a notion which generally prevailed with the ancients, in the Jewish as well as Heathen world, that there was a pollution in the contact of dead bodies, and this they extended to the very house in which the corpse lay, and even to the uncovered vessels that stood in the same room. [*Vid. Pot. Antiq.* v. 2. 188.] From some such opinion as this it is probable, that the circumstance here mentioned of placing Trajan's statue where these bodies were deposited, was esteemed as a mark of disrespect to his person.

Eumolpus, pretending not to be yet ſufficiently inſtructed, moved that the tryal might be again put off: Dion, on the contrary, inſiſted it ſhould be hear'd. They debated this point very fully on both ſides, and entered a little into the merits of the cauſe; when being of opinion, that it was reaſonable it ſhould be adjourned, and thinking it proper to adviſe with you in an affair which was of conſequence in point of example, I directed them to give in the articles of their reſpective allegations in writing; for I was deſirous you ſhould judge from their own words of what was offered on each part. This Dion promiſed to do, as Eumolpus alſo aſſured me he would draw up in writing what he had to alledge on the part of the community. But he added, that being only concerned as advocate on behalf of Archippus, whoſe inſtructions he had laid before me, he had nothing to charge with reſpect to the ſepulchres. Archippus however, for whom Eumolpus was counſel here, as at Pruſa, undertook to preſent an accuſation upon this head in writing. But neither Eumolpus nor Archippus (tho' I have waited ſeveral days for that purpoſe) have yet performed their engagement: Dion indeed has; and I have annexed his memorial to this letter. I have taken a view myſelf of the buildings, where I find your ſtatue is placed in a library;

and as to the edifice which is ſuppoſed to contain the bodies of Dion's wife and ſon, it ſtands in the middle of an area, which is ſurrounded with a colonade. I particularly therefore intreat you, Sir, to direct my judgment in the determination of this cauſe above all others, as it is a point to which the world is greatly attentive. And, indeed, it highly deſerves a very mature deliberation, ſince the fact is not only acknowledged, but countenanc'd by many examples.

LETTER LXXXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

AS you well know, my dear Pliny, it is the fixed maxim of my government not to create an awe of my perſon by ſevere and rigorous meaſures, and by conſtruing every ſlight offence into an act of treaſon, there was no occaſion for you to heſitate a moment upon the point, concerning which you thought proper to conſult me. Without entering therefore into that queſtion, (to which I would by no means give any attention, tho' there were ever ſo many inſtances of the ſame kind) I recommend to your care the examination of Dion's accounts relating to the public works which he has finiſhed; as it is a caſe in

which the intereſt of the city is concerned, and as Dion neither ought, nor indeed does refuſe, to ſubmit to the enquiry.

LETTER LXXXVII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Niceans having conjured me, Sir, by (what is, and ought to be, moſt ſacred to me) your proſperity and immortal glory, to preſent to you their petition; I did not think myſelf at liberty to refuſe them: I have therefore encloſed it in this letter.

LETTER LXXXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE Niceans, I find, claim a right, by an edict of Auguſtus, to the eſtate of every citizen who dies inteſtate. You will therefore ſummon the ſeveral parties intereſted in this queſtion, and with the aſſiſtance of Epimachus and Gemellinus, my Procurators (having duly weighed every argument that ſhall be alledged againſt the claim) determine as ſhall appear moſt reaſonable.

LETTER LXXXIX. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

MAY this and many ſucceeding birth-days be attended, Sir, with the higheſt felicity to you; and may you, in the midſt of an uninterrupted courſe of health and proſperity, be ſtill adding to the increaſe of that immortal glory, which your virtues juſtly merit!

LETTER XC. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOUR wiſhes, my dear Pliny, for my enjoyment of many happy birth-days amidſt the glory and proſperity of the republic, were extremely agreeable to me.

LETTER XCI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE city of [a] Sinope is ill ſupplied, Sir, with water, which however my be brought thither from about ſixteen miles diſtance in great plenty and perfection. The ground indeed, near the ſource of this ſpring, is for ſomething more than

[a] In the province of Pontica.

than a mile, of a very soft and marshy nature; but I have directed an examination to be made (which will be done at a small expence) whether it is capable of bearing any superstructure. I have taken care to provide a sufficient fund for this purpose, if you shall approve, Sir, of a work so conducive to the health and pleasure of this colony, greatly distressed by a scarcity of water.

LETTER XCII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Would have you proceed, my dear Pliny, in carefully examining, whether the ground you suspect, is firm enough to support an aquæduct. For I have no manner of doubt that it is proper the city of Sinope should be supplied with water; provided their finances will bear the expence of a work so conducive to their health and pleasure.

LETTER XCIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE free and confederate city of [a] Amisus enjoys, by your indulgence, the privilege of its own laws. A memorial being presented to me

[a] A colony of Athenians in the province of Pontica.

me there, concerning a charitable [b] ſociety, I have encloſed it in this letter, that you may conſider, Sir, whether, and how far, theſe meetings are to be permitted, or prohibited.

LETTER XCIV. Trajan. *to* Pliny.

IF a charitable ſociety be agreeable to the laws of the Amiſenians, which by the articles of alliance it is ſtipulated they ſhall enjoy, I ſhall not oppoſe it; eſpecially if theſe contributions are employed, not for the purpoſes of riot and faction, but for the ſupport of the indigent. In other cities however, which are ſubject to our laws, I would have all aſſemblies of this nature prohibited.

[b] The learned Caſaubon, in his obſervations upon Theophraſtus (as cited by one of the commentators) informs us that there were at Athens and other cities of Greece, certain fraternities, which paid into a common cheſt a monthly contribution towards the ſupport of ſuch of their members who had fallen into misfortunes; upon condition, that if ever they arrived to more proſperous circumſtances, they ſhould repay into the general fund the money ſo advanced.

LETTER XCV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN

SUetonius Tranquillus, Sir, is a person of great merit and learning, as well as of noble birth. I was so much pleased with his turn and manners, that I long since received him into my family; and my affection for him still increased the more I discovered of his character. Two reasons concur to make the privilege * which the law grants to those

* By the law for encouragement of matrimony (some account of which has already been given in the notes above) as a penalty upon those who lived batchelors, they were declared incapable of inheriting any legacy by will, so likewise if being married, they had no children, they could not claim the full advantage of benefactions of that kind: † Thus Nævolus in Juvenal very humorously urges his gallantries in his friend's family, as a meritorious piece of service which he had done him.

> *Nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate perfide, nullum,*
> *Quod tibi filiolus, vel filia nascitur ex me?*—
> *Jura parentis habes; propter* me *scriberis heres;*
> *Legatum* omne *capis, necnon & dulce caducum.*
>
> Sat. 9. v. 82. &c.

> And ow'st thou nothing then, ingrate! to me,
> That from my loins you sons and daughters see?
> A parent's privilege by *me* you gain,
> And the rich legacy in *full* obtain.

Pliny therefore alludes to this law, when he mentions the bounties of Tranquillus's deceased friends, as one reason why it was expedient for him to obtain the *jus trium liberorum*, viz. in order to entitle him to the full benefit of their several bequests.

† Lipsii excurs. in. Tac. an. 3. c. 24.

those who have three children, extremely necessary to him; the bounty of his friends, and ill success of his marriage. Those advantages therefore which nature has denied to him, he hopes to obtain from your goodness, by means of my intercession. I am thoroughly sensible, Sir, of the value of the favor I am asking; but I know I am making this request to one, whose gracious compliance with all my desires I have amply experienced. How passionately I wish to obtain this favor, you will judge by my thus requesting it in my absence, which I should not have done, had it been a point wherein I am only commonly sollicitous.

LETTER XCVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU cannot but know, my dear Pliny, how reserved I am in granting favors of this kind, having frequently declared in the senate, that I had not exceeded the number which I assured that illustrious order I would be contented with. I have yielded, however, to your request; and have directed an article to be inserted in my register, that I have conferred upon Tranquillus, on my usual conditions, the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children.

LET-

LETTER [a] *XCVII. To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IT is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably obſerve, to refer myſelf to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of removing my ſcruples, or informing my ignorance? Having never been preſent at any trials concerning thoſe who profeſs Chriſtianity, I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the meaſure of their puniſhment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether therefore any difference is uſually made with reſpect to the ages of the guilty, or no diſtinction is to be obſerved between the young and the adult; whether repentance intitles them to a pardon; or if a man has been once a Chriſtian, it avails nothing to deſiſt from his error; whether the very profeſſion of Chriſtianity, unattended with any criminal act, or only the crimes themſelves inherent

[a] This letter is eſteemed as almoſt the only genuine monument of eccleſiaſtical antiquity relating to the times immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, it being wrote at moſt not above forty years after the death of St. Paul. It was preſerved by the Chriſtians themſelves as a clear and unſuſpicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines; and is frequently appealed to by the early writers of the church againſt the calumnies of their adverſaries.

herent in the profeſſion are puniſhable; in all theſe points I am greatly doubtful. In the mean while the method I have obſerved towards thoſe who have been brought before me as Chriſtians, is this: I interrogated them whether they were Chriſtians; if they confeſſed I repeated the queſtion twice again, adding threats at the ſame time; when, if they ſtill perſevered, I ordered them to be immediately puniſhed: for I was perſuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obſtinacy certainly deſerved correction. There were others alſo brought before me poſſeſſed with the ſame infatuation, but being [b] citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither. But this crime ſpreading (as is uſually the caſe) while it was actually under proſecution, ſeveral inſtances of the ſame nature occurred. An information was preſented to me without any name ſubſcribed, containing a charge againſt ſeveral perſons, who upon examination denied they were Chriſtians, or had ever been ſo. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with

[b] It was one of the privileges of a Roman citizen, ſecured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the ſuffrage of the people, which ſeems to have been ſtill ſo far in force, as to make it neceſſary to ſend the perſons here mentioned to Rome.

with wine and frankincenſe before your ſtatue; (which for the purpoſe I had ordered to be brought together with thoſe of the gods) and even reviled the name of Chriſt: whereas there is no forcing, it is ſaid, thoſe who are really Chriſtians, into a compliance with any of theſe articles: I thought proper therefore to diſcharge them. Some among thoſe who were accuſed by a witneſs in perſon, at firſt confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, but immediately after denied it; while the reſt own'd indeed that they had been of that number formerly, but had now (ſome above three, others more, and a few above twenty years ago) forſaken that error. They all worſhipped your ſtatue and the images of the gods, throwing out imprecations at the ſame time againſt the name of Chriſt. They affirmed, the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they met on a certain ſtated day before it was light, and addreſſed themſelves in a form of prayer to Chriſt, as to ſome God, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath, not for the purpoſes of any wicked deſign, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falſify their word, nor deny a truſt when they ſhould be called upon to deliver it up; after which, it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then reaſſemble, to eat in common a harmleſs

meal. From this cuſtom, however, they deſiſted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I forbade the meeting of any aſſemblies. After receiving this account, I judged it ſo much the more neceſſary to endeavor to extort the real truth, by putting two female ſlaves to the torture, who were ſaid to adminiſter [a] in their religious functions: but I could diſcover nothing more than an abſurd and exceſſive ſuperſtition. I thought proper therefore to adjourn all farther proceedings in this affair, in order to conſult with you. For it appears to be a matter highly deſerving your conſideration; more eſpecially as great numbers muſt be involved in the danger of theſe proſecutions, this enquiry having already extended, and being ſtill likely to extend, to perſons of all ranks and ages, and even of both ſexes. For this contagious ſuperſtition is not confined to the cities only, but has ſpread its infection among the country villages. Nevertheleſs, it ſtill ſeems impoſſible to remedy this evil and reſtrain its progreſs. The temples,

[a] Theſe women, it is ſuppoſed, exerciſed the ſame office as Phœbe mentioned by St. Paul, whom he ſtiles Deaconeſs of the church of Cenchrea. Their buſineſs to tend the poor and ſick, and other charitable offices; as alſo to aſſiſt at the ceremony of female baptiſm, for the more decent performance of that rite: as Voſſius obſerves upon this paſſage.

temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for the victims, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine, what numbers might be reclaimed from this error, if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent.

LETTER XCVIII. TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians which were brought before you, is extremely proper; as it is not possible to lay down any fixed plan by which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you officiously enter into any enquiries concerning them.* If indeed they should be brought before you, and the crime is proved, they must be punished; with the restriction however that where the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall

* If we impartially examine this prosecution of the Christians, we shall find it to have been grounded on the antient constitution of the state, and not to have proceeded from a cruel or arbitrary temper in Trajan. The Roman legislature appears to have been early jealous of any innovation in point of public worship;

make it evident that he is not, by invoking our Gods, let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed,

worship; and we find the magistrates, during the old republic, frequently interposing in cases of that nature. Valerius Maximus has collected some instances to that purpose, [L. 1. c. 3.] and Livy mentions it as an established principle of the earlier ages of the commonwealth, to guard against the introduction of foreign ceremonies of religion. *Quoties* (says that excellent historian, speaking in the person of one of the consuls who is addressing himself to the people) *quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate negotium est magistratibus datum, ut sacra externa fieri vetarent? Judicabant enim prudentissimi viri—nihil æque dissolvendæ religionis esse, quam ubi non patrio, sed externo ritu sacrificaretur.* [L. 39. c. 16.] It was an old and fixed maxim likewise of the Roman government, not to suffer any unlicensed assemblies of the people; and of this Livy also is a voucher: *Majores vestri* (says he) *ne vos quidem nisi quum,* &c. *forte temere coire noluerunt*; & *ubicunque multitudo esset, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebant debere esse.* [L. 36. c. 25.] From hence it seems evident, that the Christians had render'd themselves obnoxious (not so much to Trajan, as) to the *antient* and *settled* laws of the state, by introducing a foreign worship, and assembling themselves without authority.

We are not therefore to judge of the proceedings in question, by the rules we should apply to cases of the same nature in our own times. The established religion of the Romans was no other, in the judgment and confession of their best writers, than an engine of state, which could not be shaken without the utmost danger, or rather perhaps, without the total subversion of their civil government. Accordingly we find them strongly inculcating a tenacious observance of all its rites: *Majorum instituta tueri* (says Cicero) *sacris cæremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.* [De Leg.] Nor is this principle, if the observation of the celebrated Machiavel is just, peculiar to the Roman state, but of universal truth in politics; for

bed, ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the equity of my government.

for he lays it down as a general maxim, that "wherever the "Religion of any state falls into disregard and contempt, it is "impossible for that state to subsist long." [*Mach. Discorsi sopra tit. Liv.*] This case therefore is to be considered in a civil, not a religious view; as a matter of state, not of speculation; wherein the lenity and moderation both of the Emperor and his minister deserve to be applauded, as they are neither of them for pushing the matter as far as they most certainly might, had they acted strictly up to the *antient* and *fundamental* laws of their country.

The circumstance that attended the Christian assemblies being held at an usual hour (*ante lucem*, as Pliny tells us) seems to have raised a surmise that they were of the Bacchanalian kind. For it is extremely observable, that in the account which the Christians here give of the true design of their meeting, they justify themselves from the very crimes with which the Bacchanalians had been charged; intimating, it should seem, that they themselves had been taxed with the same: *se sacramento non ad scelus aliquod obstringere; sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent*, &c. which runs exactly parallel with the accusation against the Bacchanalians, as it stands in Livy: *Nec unum genus noxæ, stupra promiscua*, &c. *sed falsi testes, falsa signa testimoniaque & indicia ex eadem officina exibant.* [Liv. l. 39. c. 8.]

LETTER XCIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE elegant and beautiful city of [a] Amastris, Sir, has among other capital buildings, a most noble and extensive piazza. On one entire side of this structure runs, what is called indeed a river, but in fact is no other than a vile common shore, extremely offensive to the eye, and at the same time very unwholsome by its noxious smell. It will be advantageous therefore in point of health, as well as ornament, to have it covered; which shall be done, with your permission: as I will take care on my part, that money be not wanting for executing so noble and necessary a work.

LETTER C. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is highly reasonable, my dear Pliny, if the water which runs thro' the city of Amastris is prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants, that it should be covered. I am well assured, you will, with your usual application, take care that the money necessary for this work shall not be wanting.

[a] Situated on the black sea, in the province of Pontus.

LETTER CI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

WE have paid, Sir, with great joy and alacrity, the vows which we offered up for you the laſt year; and have again publicly renewed them, aſſiſted by the army and provincials. We implored the Gods to preſerve you and the republic in ſafety and proſperity, with that peculiar mark of their bounty, which not only your other many and great virtues, but particularly your diſtinguiſhed piety and reverence of them, deſerves.

LETTER CII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT was very agreeable to me to learn by your letter, that the army and the provincials ſeconded you with great joy and unanimity, in thoſe vows which you paid and renewed to the immortal Gods, for my welfare.

LETTER CIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

WE have celebrated, with all the zeal we ought, the day in which, by a very happy ſucceſſion, the protection of mankind was tranſ-

transferred to you; recommending to the Gods, from whom you received the empire, the object of our public vows and congratulations.

LETTER CIV. Trajan *to* Pliny.

I Was extremely well pleased to be informed by your letter, that you had, at the head of the soldiers and the provincials, solemnized my accession to the empire, with all due joy and zeal.

LETTER CV. To the Emperor Trajan.

VAlerius Paulinus, Sir, having left me his right [a] of patronage over all his freedmen, except one, I intreat you to grant the freedom of Rome to three of them. To desire you to extend this favor to more, would, I fear, be too unreasonable a trespass upon your indulgence; which, as I have amply experienced, I ought to be so much

[a] By the Papian law, which passed in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppeas Secundus, U. C. 761. if a freedman died worth a hundred thousand sesterces, (or about 800 l. of our money) leaving only one child; his patron, (that is, the master from whom he received his liberty) was entitled to half his estate; if he left two children, to one third; but if more than two, then the patron was absolutely excluded. This was afterwards altered by Justinian. *Inst. l.* 3. *tit.* 8.

much the more cautious in troubling. The persons for whom I make this request are, C. Valerius Æstiæus, C. Valerius Dionysius, and C. Valerius Aper.

LETTER CVI. TRAJAN to PLINY.

AS it is very generous of you to consult the interest of those whom Valerius Paulinus has confided to your trust, I cannot but encourage your good intentions. I have therefore given the freedom of the city to those persons for whom you requested it, and have directed the grant to be register'd: I am ready to do the same for the rest, whenever you shall desire me.

LETTER CVII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

P. Accius Aquila, captain of the sixth equestrian cohort, requested me, Sir, to transmit his petition to you, in favor of his daughter. I thought it would be unkind to refuse him this good office, knowing, as I do, with what patience and humanity you receive the petitions of the soldiers.

LETTER CVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Have read the petition of P. Accius Aquila, captain of the ſixth equeſtrian cohort, which you ſent to me; and in compliance with his requeſt, I have given his daughter the freedom of the city of Rome. I ſend you at the ſame time the patent, which you will deliver to him.

LETTER CIX. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

I Beg, Sir, your directions with reſpect to the recovering thoſe debts which are due to the cities of Bithynia and Pontus, either for rent, or goods ſold, or upon any other conſideration. I find they have a privilege granted to them by ſeveral Proconſuls, of being prefer'd to other creditors; and this cuſtom has prevailed, as if it had been eſtabliſhed by law. Your prudence, I imagine, will think it neceſſary to enact ſome ſettled rule, by which their rights may always be ſecured. For the ordinances of others, however wiſely founded, are but feeble and temporary expedients, unleſs confirmed by your authority.

LETTER CX. TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE rule by which the cities either of Pontus or Bithynia are to be governed, in the recovery of debts of whatever kind, due to their ſeveral communities, muſt be determined agreeably to their reſpective laws. Where any of them enjoy the privilege of being prefer'd to other creditors, it muſt be obſerved; but, where no ſuch privilege prevails, it is not juſt I ſhould eſtabliſh one, in prejudice of private property.

LETTER CXI. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE ſolicitor to the treaſury of the city of Amiſis laid a claim, Sir, before me againſt Julius Piſo of about 40,000 [a] denarii, which were given him by the public above twenty years ago, with the conſent of the general council and aſſembly of the city; and he founded his demand upon certain of your edicts, by which donations of this kind are prohibited. Piſo, on the other hand, aſſerted that he had confer'd large ſums of money upon the community, and indeed, had expended that way, almoſt his whole eſtate. He inſiſted

[a] About 1166 l. ſterling.

insisted upon the length of time which had intervened since this donation, and hoped that he should not be compelled, to the ruin of the remainder [b] of his fortunes, to refund a sum, which had been granted him long since, in return for many good offices he had done to the city. For this reason, Sir, I thought it necessary to suspend giving any judgment in this cause, till I shall receive your directions.

[b] The translator has ventured to give this sense to *reliquæ dignitatis*. It is, he confesses, a very uncommon, perhaps the single instance of the word *dignitas* being used in that meaning; still, however, the context, together with the epithet which is joined with it, will, he imagines, clearly justify him. There is nothing in the nature of this case to make it reasonable to suppose, that the dignity of Julius Piso should be impeached; as little is it to be collected from any thing contained in this letter, or Trajan's answer. The adjective *reliqua* being added to *dignitas*, removes every suspicion of its signifying *honor* (as the ingenious French translator Monf. de Sacy, and his humble copier the Italian Tedeschi have render'd it) for honor scarce admits of fractions, and there can be no remainder after a substraction of that kind. The truth, it should seem, is, that as the value of a man's estate was, among the Romans, a necessary qualification to render him capable of the dignities of the commonwealth, our author, by a figure of speech, puts *dignitas* for *facultas*; the consequent (to speak in the language of the grammarians) for the antecedent.

LET-

LETTER CXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THO' by my edicts I have ordained, that no largesses shall be given out of the public money; yet, that numberless private persons may not be disturbed in the secure possession of their fortunes, those donations which have been made long since, ought not to be called in question or revoked. We will not therefore enquire into any thing that has been transacted in this affair so long ago as twenty years; for I would be no less attentive to secure the repose of every private man, than the treasure of every public community.

LETTER CXIII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, which is observed in Pontus and Bithynia, does not direct that any money should be given by those who are elected into the public council by the Censors. It has however been usual for such members as have been admitted into those assemblies, in pursuance of the privilege which you were pleased to grant to some particular cities, of receiving above their legal number, to pay [b] one or two [c] thousand denarii.

[b] About 29l. [c] and 58l. sterl.

narii. Subsequent to this, the Proconsul Anicius Maximus ordained (tho' indeed his edict extended to some few cities only) that those who were elected by the Censors should also pay into the treasury a certain sum, which varied in different places. It remains therefore for your consideration, whether it would not be proper to settle a certain fixed sum for each member, who is elected into the council, to pay upon his entrance; for it well becomes you, whose every word and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall for ever be permanent.

LETTER CXIV. Trajan *to* Pliny.

I Can give no general directions applicable to all the cities of Bithynia, whether those who are made members of their respective councils shall pay an honorary fee upon their admittance, or not. It seems best therefore, in this case, (what indeed upon all occasions is the safest way) to leave each city to its respective laws. But I think, however, that the Censors ought to set the sum lower to those who are chosen into the senate contrary to their inclinations, than to the rest.

LET-

LETTER CXV. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, allows the Bithynians to give the freedom of their respective cities to whatever persons they think proper, provided they are not foreigners, but belong to some of the cities of this province. The same law specifies the particular causes for which the Censors may expel any member the senate; amongst which number, that of being a foreigner is not mentioned. Certain of the Censors therefore have desired my sentiments, whether they ought to expel a member if he should happen to be a foreigner. But I thought it necessary to receive your instructions in this case; not only because the law, tho' it forbids foreigners to be admitted citizens, does not direct a senator to be expelled for the same reason, but because I am informed, that there is in every city several members of their council, who are in these circumstances. If therefore this clause of the law, which seems to be antiquated by a long custom to the contrary, should be enforced, many cities, as well as private persons, will be thrown into great confusion. I have subjoined the heads of this law to my letter.

LETTER CXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU might very reasonably, my dear Pliny, be doubtful what decision to give to the enquiry of the Censors; whether they might elect into the senate, foreign citizens, tho' of the same province? The authority of law on one side, and long custom prevailing against it on the other, might well throw you into a state of suspence. The proper mean to observe in this case, will be, to make no change in what is past, but to suffer those senators who are already elected, tho' contrary to law, to keep their seats, to whatever city they may belong; in all future elections, however, to pursue the directions of the Pompeian law: for to extend its influence backwards, must necessarily introduce great confusion.

LETTER CXVII. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

IT is customary here upon any person's taking the manly [a] robe, solemnizing his marriage, entering upon the office of a magistrate, or dedicating any public work, to invite the whole senate, together with

[a] See note [a] p. 22.

with a confiderable part of the commonalty, and diftribute to each of the company one [a] or two denarii. I beg you would inform me, whether you think proper this ceremony fhould be obferv-ed, or how far you approve of it. For myfelf, tho' I am of opinion that upon fome occafions, efpecially thofe of public feftivals, this kind of invitations may be permitted; yet when they are carried fo far as to draw together a thoufand perfons, and fometimes more, it is going, I fear, beyond a reafonable number, and has fomething the appearance of ambitious largeffes.

LETTER CXVIII. Trajan *to* Pliny.

IT is with juftice you apprehend, that thefe pub-lic invitations, which extend to an unreafona-ble number of people, and where the dole is diftri-buted, not fingly to a few acquaintance, but as it were to whole collective bodies, may be turned to the turbulent purpofes of ambition. But I have made choice of your prudence, in the perfuafion that you would take proper meafures for regulat-ing the manners and fettling the peace of this pro-vince.

a About feven pence of our money. The fum diftributed upon thefe occafions, fuppofing the affembly to confift of a thoufand perfons, and two denarii given to each, would amount to about 58l. fterl.

LETTER CXIX. To the Emperor TRAJAN.

THE Athletic victors, Sir, in the [a] Iselastic games, think they ought to receive the prize you have established for the conquerors at those combats on the day they are crowned: for it is not at all material, they say, what time they were triumphantly conducted into their country, but when they merited that honor by their conquest. On the contrary, when I consider the meaning of the term *Iselastic*, I am strongly inclined to believe, that the time of their public entry is to be alone consider'd. They likewise petition to be allowed the prize you give at those combats which you have made Iselastic, tho' they were conquerors before that establishment took place: for it is but reasonable, they assert, that they should receive their rewards in this case, as they are deprived of them at those games which have been divested of the honor of being Iselastic, since their victories. But I am extremely doubtful, whether a retrospect should be admitted in this case, and a reward given to which they

[a] These games are called *Iselastic*, from the Greek word εισελαυνω, *invehor*, because the victors, drawn by white horses, and wearing crowns on their heads, were conducted with great pomp into their respective cities, which they entered thro' a breach in the walls made for that purpose; intimating, as Plutarch observes, that a city which produced such able and victorious citizens, had little occasion for the defence of walls. [*Catanæus*.] They received also annually a certain honorable stipend from the public.

they had no right at the time they gained the victory. I beg therefore you would be pleaſed to direct my judgment in theſe points, by explaining the intention of your own benefactions.

LETTER CXX. Trajan *to* Pliny.

THE reward propoſed to the conqueror in the Iſelaſtic games, is not, I think, due till he makes his public entry into his city. Nor at thoſe combats which I have thought proper to make Iſelaſtic, ought the prizes to be extended backwards to thoſe who conquer'd there before that alteration took place. As to the plea which theſe Athletic combatants urge, that they ought to receive the Iſelaſtic prize at thoſe combats which have been made Iſelaſtic after their conqueſts, as they are denied it in the ſame caſe where the games have ceaſed to be ſo; it proves nothing in their favor: ſince, notwithſtanding any change which has been made relating to theſe games, they are not called upon to return the recompence which they received prior to ſuch alteration.

LETTER CXXI. *To the Emperor* Trajan.

I Have never, Sir, accommodated any perſon with an order [a] for poſt chaiſes, or made uſe of them upon any occaſion but in your affairs. I

 find

[a] See Let. xxiv. of this book, and the note there.

find myſelf however at preſent under a ſort of neceſſity of breaking thro' this fixed rule. My wife having received an account of her [b] grandfather's death, and being deſirous to wait upon her [c] aunt with all poſſible expedition, I thought it would be unkind to deny her the uſe of this privilege; as the grace of ſo tender an office conſiſts in the early diſcharge of it, and as I well knew a journey which was founded in filial piety, could not fail of your approbation. I ſhould think myſelf highly ungrateful therefore, were I to diſſemble, that among other great obligations which I owe to your indulgence, I have this in particular, that in confidence of your favor I have ventured to do without conſulting you, what would have been too late had I waited for your conſent.

LETTER CXXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU did me juſtice, my dear Pliny, by confiding in my affection towards you. Without doubt, if you had waited for my conſent to forward your wife in her journey by means of thoſe warrants which I have entruſted to your care, the uſe of them would not have anſwered your purpoſe; ſince it was proper this viſit to her aunt ſhould have the additional recommendation, of being paid with all poſſible expedition.

[b] Fabatus. [c] Hiſpulla.

THE END.

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